

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT  
FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE

YEAR BOOK  
1918

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*Joseph H. Choate*  
*January 24, 1832 - May 14, 1917*

*Peace Through Victory*

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

for

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Founded December Fourteenth  
Nineteen Hundred and Ten

YEAR BOOK

1918

No. 7

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ENDOWMENT  
2 JACKSON PLACE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
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THE RUMFORD PRESS  
CONCORD

YEAR BOOK  
OF THE  
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT  
FOR  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
1918





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<sup>1</sup> Died February 8, 1918.

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<sup>1</sup> Died February 8, 1918.

## MR. CARNEGIE'S LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES

---

*December 14, 1910.*

GENTLEMEN: I hav transferd to you as Trustees of the Carnegie Peace Fund, Ten Million Dollars of Five Per Cent. First Mortgage Bonds, the revenue of which is to be administerd by you to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization. Altho we no longer eat our fellowmen nor torture prisoners, nor sack cities killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts are excusable for doing that in this, the Twentieth Century of the Christian era, for the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong. The nation is criminal which refuses arbitration and drives its adversary to a tribunal which knows nothing of righteous judgment.

I believ that the shortest and easiest path to peace lies in adopting President Taft's platform, who said in his address before the Peace and Arbitration Society, New York, March 22, 1910:

"I hav noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties, as to reference of questions of national honor to courts of arbitration. Personally I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referd to a court of arbitration than matters of property or of national proprietorship. I know that is going farther than most men are willing to go, but I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide by their decision, as well as any other questions of difference arising between nations."

I venture to quote from my address as President of the Peace Congress in New York, 1907:

"Honor is the most dishonord word in our language. No man ever touched another's man honor; no nation ever dishonord another nation; all honor's wounds are self-inflicted."

At the opening of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington, April 26, 1910, President Taft said:

"We twenty-one republics can not afford to hav any two or any three of us quarrel. We must stop this, and Mr. Carnegie and I will not be satisfied until all nineteen of us can intervene by proper mesures to suppress a quarrel between any other two."

I hope the Trustees will begin by pressing forward upon this line, testing it thoroly and douting not.

The judge who presides over a cause in which he is interested dies in infamy if discovered. The citizen who constitutes himself a judge in his own cause as

against his fellow-citizen, and presumes to attack him, is a law-breaker and as such disgraced. So should a nation be held as disgraced which insists upon sitting in judgment in its own cause in case of an international dispute.

I call your attention to the following resolution introduced by the Committee of Foreign Relations in the first Session, Fiftieth Congress, June 14, 1888:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means [resolution not reached on calendar during session, but reintroduced and passed: Senate, February 14, 1890; House, April 3, 1890].

This resolution was presented to the British Parliament, which adopted a resolution, approving the action of the Congress of the United States and expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government would lend their ready cooperation to the Government of the United States for the accomplishment of the object in view [Resolution of the House of Commons, July 16, 1893, Foreign Relations, 1893, 346, 352].

Here we find an expression of the spirit which resulted in the first international Hague Conference of 1899; the second Hague Conference of 1907; and eighty treaties of obligatory arbitration between the great nations of the world, our own country being a party to twenty-three of them.

It was my privilege to introduce to President Cleveland in 1887 a Committee of Members of the Parliament of Britain, headed by Sir William Randal Cremer, in response to the action of Congress, proposing a treaty agreeing to settle all disputes that might arise between America and Great Britain by arbitration. Such a treaty was concluded between Lord Pauncefote and Secretary Olney in 1897. It failed of approval by the necessary two-thirds majority of the Senate by only three votes.

There is reason to believe that the British Government has been desirous of having that treaty ratified by our Government or ready to agree to another of similar character, so that President Taft's policy seems within easy reach of success. If the English-speaking race adopts such a treaty we shall not have to wait long for other nations to join, and it will be noticed that the resolution of Congress in 1890 embraces "any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations."

If the independence and rights of nations to their respective internal policies were first formally recognized in such treaties, no dispute concerning these elements of sovereignty could arise.

In order to give effect to this gift, it will be suitable that the Trustees herein named shall form a corporation with lawful powers appropriate to the accom-

plishment of the purposes herein exprest and I authorize the conveyance of the fund to such a corporation.

The Trustees hav power to sell, invest, or re-invest all funds, either in the United States or in other countries, subject as respects investments in the United States to no more restriction than is imposed upon savings banks or insurance companies in the State of New York.

No personal liability will attach to Trustees for their action or nonaction as Trustees. They may act as a Board. They hav power to fill vacancies or to add to their number and to employ all officials and to fix their compensation whether members of the Board or not. Trustees shall be reimburst all expenses incurd in connection with their duties as Trustees, including traveling expenses attending meetings, including expenses of wife or dauter to each annual meeting. A majority of the Trustees may act for the whole. The President shall be granted such honoraria as the Trustees think proper and as he can be prevaild upon to accept.

Lines of future action can not be wisely laid down. Many may hav to be tried, and having full confidence in my Trustees I leav to them the widest discretion as to the mesures and policy they shall from time to time adopt, only premising that the one end they shall keep unceasingly in view until it is attaind, is the speedy abolition of international war between so-cald civilized nations.

When civilized nations enter into such treaties as named, and war is discarded as disgraceful to civilized men, as personal war (duelling) and man selling and buying (slavery) hav been discarded within the wide boundaries of our English-speaking race, the Trustees will pleas then consider what is the next most degrading remaining evil or evils whose banishment—or what new elevating element or elements if introduced or fosterd, or both combined—would most advance the progress, elevation and happiness of man, and so on from century to century without end, my Trustees of each age shall determin how they can best aid man in his upward march to higher and higher stages of development unceasingly; for now we know that man was created, not with an instinct for his own degradation, but imbued with the desire and the power for improvement to which, perchance, there may be no limit short of perfection even here in this life upon erth.

Let my Trustees therefore ask themselvs from time to time, from age to age, how they can best help man in his glorious ascent onward and upward and to this end devote this fund.

Thanking you for your cordial acceptance of this trust and your harty approval of its object, I am

Very gratefully yours,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Witness:

LOUISE WHITFIELD CARNEGIE.

MARGARET CARNEGIE.

## ACCEPTANCE OF THE GIFT

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On the date of Mr. Carnegie's letter, the Board of Trustees designated by him, met in Washington, and Mr. Choate addressed Mr. Carnegie and the members of the Board as follows:

Mr. President, I suppose the first business in order would be the formal acceptance of this remarkable gift from Mr. Carnegie. It is impossible for me, or I think for anyone, to find adequate words to express our appreciation and gratitude for this wonderful gift. Mr. Carnegie has been known for many years now as a great benefactor to his race and the whole civilized world is covered with proofs of his beneficence. Great trusts that he has established for the benefit of mankind have already demonstrated the wisdom of his designs and his gifts; but in this enterprise for peace which he has undertaken, he has in my judgment attempted the most difficult, as well as the most far reaching and beneficent, of all his works.

Twenty years ago such a proposition as he has made in the remarkable paper that he has read would have been received with wonder and incredulity, and would have been regarded as hopeless and impossible; but enormous progress has been made in those twenty years, and very largely by his personal influence. Twelve years ago, when the Emperor of Russia first proposed that the nations of the earth should assemble by their accredited representatives to consider the question of peace and disarmament or mitigation and regulation of armament, the proposition was received almost with contempt in many countries of the world; but when that body assembled—there is nobody who can tell us better than Dr. White about that—it made immense progress in the direction of peace and harmony among nations. Eight years afterwards, when under your direction, Mr. Chairman, we went again to The Hague for the same purpose, still further progress was made, and by the result of those two assemblages, as the result also of the cultivation of public opinion in favor of peace, among all civilized nations, this proposed gift of Mr. Carnegie is not only made possible but the promise of it is to my mind absolutely certain.

At the same time I think it may be regarded as the most difficult work that he has yet entrusted to any board of trustees or has himself undertaken. That it is sure to come in the end, no reasonable man can doubt; but anyone who has attempted any work in this direction knows the enormous difficulties that lie in the way, in the prejudices, the interests and the determination of the various great nations of the world. I will not attempt to enlarge upon the subject. I am sure that we shall devote our best endeavors to carry out the object that Mr. Carnegie has expressed in his letter of gift, and that among our first objects will certainly be to promote what he has evidently so much at heart, and what he is so absolutely assured will be hailed with cordial welcome on the other side of the border—the ratification of the treaty that he has referred to between England and the United States—for I am satisfied that if those two nations are bound together in terms of lasting friendship and peace it would go far to secure the peace of the whole world.

I therefore offer this resolution of acceptance:

*Resolved*, That the Trust Fund, for the promotion of peace, specified in the instrument subscribed to and delivered this day by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, be and it is hereby accepted for the purposes prescribed by the donor.

*Resolved*, That in undertaking to hold and use, in trust, this munificent gift for the benefit of mankind, the Trustees are moved by a deep sense of the sincere and noble spirit of humanity which inspires the donor of the Fund. They feel that all thoughtful men and women should be grateful to him, and should be glad to aid, so far as lies within their power, towards the accomplishment of the much-to-be-desired end upon which he has fixed his hopes, and to which he desires to contribute. They are not unmindful of the delicacy and difficulty involved in dealing with so great a sum, for such a purpose, wisely and not mischievously, and in ways which shall be practical and effective. They accept the Trust in the belief that, although, doubtless, many mistakes may be made, great and permanent good can be accomplished.

The Chairman directed the Secretary to call the name of each Trustee, in order that the Trust might be accepted personally by each Trustee present, and the resolution was unanimously adopted. The Chairman then declared that by these acceptances the persons present were constituted Trustees under the instrument of gift, with the powers and obligations specified therein.

## PROPOSED CHARTER APPROVED IN THE BY-LAWS OF THE ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

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*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the following persons, namely, Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H. Choate, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles W. Eliot, Robert A. Franks, Arthur William Foster, John W. Foster, Austen G. Fox, William M. Howard, Samuel Mather, Andrew J. Montague, George W. Perkins, Henry S. Pritchett, Elihu Root, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, James Brown Scott, James L. Slayden, Albert K. Smiley, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Charlemagne Tower, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward, Luke E. Wright, their associates and successors, duly chosen, are hereby incorporated and declared to be a body corporate of the District of Columbia by the name of the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace," and by such name shall be known and have perpetual succession, with the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

SECTION 2. That the objects of the corporation shall be to advance the cause of peace among nations, to hasten the abolition of international war, and to encourage and promote a peaceful settlement of international differences, and, in particular—

(a) To promote a thorough and scientific investigation and study of the causes of war and of the practical methods to prevent and avoid it.

(b) To aid in the development of international law, and a general agreement on the rules thereof, and the acceptance of the same among nations.

(c) To diffuse information, and to educate public opinion regarding the causes, nature, and effects of war, and means for its prevention and avoidance.

(d) To establish a better understanding of international rights and duties and a more perfect sense of international justice among the inhabitants of civilized countries.

(e) To cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

(f) To promote a general acceptance of peaceable methods in the settlement of international disputes.

(g) To maintain, promote, and assist such establishments, organizations, associations, and agencies as shall be deemed necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the purposes of the corporation, or any of them.

<sup>1</sup> H. R. 32084, Sixty-First Congress. This bill has not been reintroduced in subsequent Congresses.



(h) To take and hold such property, real or personal, and to invest and keep invested and receive and apply the income of such funds, and to construct and maintain such buildings or establishments, as shall be deemed necessary to prosecute and develop the purposes of the corporation, or any of them.

(i) To do and perform all lawful acts or things necessary or proper in the judgment of the Trustees to promote the objects of the corporation.

With full power, however, to the Trustees hereinafter named, and their successors, from time to time, to modify the conditions and regulations under which the work shall be carried on, and the particular purposes to which the income shall be applied, so as to secure the application of the funds in the manner best adapted to the conditions of the time: *Provided*, That the purposes of the corporation shall at all times be among the foregoing or kindred thereto.

SECTION 3. That the management and direction of the affairs of the corporation and the control and disposition of its property and funds shall be vested in a Board of Trustees, twenty-eight in number, to be composed of the following individuals: Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H. Choate, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles W. Eliot, Robert A. Franks, Arthur William Foster, John W. Foster, Austen G. Fox, William M. Howard, Samuel Mather, Andrew J. Montague, George W. Perkins, Henry S. Pritchett, Elihu Root, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, James Brown Scott, James L. Slayden, Albert K. Smiley, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Charlemagne Tower, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward, Luke E. Wright, who shall constitute the first Board of Trustees. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the remaining Trustees in such manner as shall be prescribed from time to time by the by-laws of the corporation. The persons so elected shall thereupon become Trustees and also members of the corporation.

SECTION 4. That the principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, but offices may be maintained and meetings of the Trustees and committees thereof may be held elsewhere, as provided by the by-laws of the corporation.

SECTION 5. That the Board of Trustees shall be entitled to take, hold, and administer any securities, funds or property which may at any time be given, devised, or bequeathed to them or to the corporation for the purposes of the trust; with full power from time to time to adopt a common seal, to appoint such officers and agents, whether members of the Board of Trustees or otherwise, as may be deemed necessary for carrying on the business of the corporation, at such salaries or remuneration as the Trustees may deem proper; with full power to adopt by-laws and such rules or regulations as shall be deemed necessary to secure the safe and convenient transaction of the business of the corporation; and full power and discretion to invest any principal and deal with and expend the income of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of the Trustees will best promote the objects hereinbefore set forth; and, in

general, to have and use all the powers and authority necessary and proper to promote such objects and carry out the purposes of the corporation. The Trustees shall have power to hold as investments any securities given, assigned, or transferred to them or to the corporation by any person, persons, or corporation, and to retain such investments, and to invest any sums or amounts from time to time in such securities and in such form and manner as may be permitted to trustees or to charitable or literary corporations for investment according to the laws of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts, or any of them, or in such securities as may be authorized for investment by any deed of trust, or by any act or deed of gift or last will and testament.

SECTION 6. That all personal property and funds of the corporation held, or used, for the purposes thereof, pursuant to the provisions of this Act, whether of principal or income, shall, so long as the same shall be so used, be exempt from taxation by the United States or any Territory or District thereof: *Provided*, That such exemption shall not apply to any property, principal or income, which shall not be held or used for the purposes of the corporation.

SECTION 7. That the services of the Trustees, when acting as such, shall be gratuitous, but the corporation may provide for the reasonable expenses incurred by the Trustees in attending meetings or otherwise in the performance of their duties.

SECTION 8. That Congress may from time to time alter, repeal, or modify this Act of incorporation, but no contract or individual right made or acquired shall thereby be divested or impaired.

# BY-LAWS OF THE ASSOCIATION

ADOPTED MARCH 9, 1911

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## ARTICLE I

### THE TRUSTEES

SECTION 1. Pending the incorporation of the Trustees, the business of the Trust shall be conducted by the Trustees as an unincorporated association, and shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Trustees, which shall consist of twenty-eight members, who shall hold office continuously and not for a stated term.

The name of the association shall be "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace."

SECTION 2. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the Trustees, by ballot, by a vote of two-thirds of the Trustees present at a meeting. No person shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing, by some member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before an annual or special meeting. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before a meeting, and no other nomination shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Trustees present.

SECTION 3. In case any Trustee shall fail to attend three successive annual meetings of the Board, he shall thereupon cease to be a Trustee.

SECTION 4. No Trustee shall receive any compensation for his services as such.

## ARTICLE II

### MEETINGS

SECTION 1. The principal office of the association shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia. The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the third Friday of April in each year.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 2. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Executive Committee at such place as the Committee shall determine, by notice served personally upon or mailed to the usual address of each Trustee, twenty days prior to the meeting, as the names and addresses of such Trustees appear upon the books of the association.

A special meeting of the Board on the second Friday of November in each year shall be called and held in accordance with the provisions of this section, for the transaction of such business as the Board shall determine upon, including any special appropriations that may be found necessary.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As amended December 12, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> As amended April 18, 1913.

SECTION 3. Special meetings shall be called by the president in the same manner upon the written request of seven members of the Board.

SECTION 4. A majority of the Trustees shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 5. The order of business at the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be as follows:

1. Calling the roll.
2. Reading of the notice of the meeting.
3. Reading of the minutes of the last annual or special meeting.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of committees.
6. Election of officers and Trustees.
7. Miscellaneous business.

### ARTICLE III

#### OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the association shall be a president and a vice president, who shall be elected from the members of the Board by ballot annually. There shall also be a secretary elected from the members of the Board, who shall serve during the pleasure of the Board, and a treasurer, who may or may not be a member of the Board, who shall be elected by the Board and serve during the pleasure of the Board.

### ARTICLE IV

#### THE PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. The president shall be the presiding officer of the association and chairman, *ex officio*, of the Executive Committee. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board or the Executive Committee, and exercise the usual duties of a presiding officer. He shall have general supervision of all matters of administration and of all the affairs of the association.

SECTION 2. In the absence or disability of the president, his duties shall be performed by the vice president.

### ARTICLE V

#### THE SECRETARY

SECTION 1. The secretary shall be the chief administrative officer of the association and, subject to the authority of the Board and the Executive Committee, shall have immediate charge of the administration of its affairs and of the work undertaken by it or with its funds. He shall devote his entire time to the work of the association. He shall prepare and submit to the Board of Trustees and to the Executive Committee plans, suggestions and recommendations for the work of the association, shall carry on its correspondence, and generally supervise the work of the association. He shall sign and execute all instruments in the name of the association when authorized to do so by the Board of

Trustees or by the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee. He shall countersign all cheques, orders, bills or drafts for the payment of money, and shall perform the usual duties of a secretary and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board or the Executive Committee.

SECTION 2. He shall be the legal custodian of all property of the association whose custody is not otherwise provided for. He shall submit to the Board of Trustees, at least thirty days before its annual meeting, a written report of the operations and business of the association for the preceding fiscal year, with such recommendations as he shall approve.

SECTION 3. He shall act, *ex officio*, as secretary of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee, and shall have custody of the seal and affix the same when directed so to do by the Board, the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee.

SECTION 4. An assistant secretary may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties or exercise the powers of the secretary, or some part thereof.

## ARTICLE VI

### THE TREASURER

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall have the care and custody of all funds and property of the association as distinguished from the permanent invested funds and securities, and shall deposit the same in such bank, trust company or depository as the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate, and shall, subject to the direction of the Board or the Executive Committee, disburse and dispose of the same, and shall perform the usual duties incident to the office of treasurer. He shall report to each meeting of the Executive Committee. He shall keep proper books of account of all moneys or disposition of property received and paid out on account of the association, and shall exhibit the same when required by the Executive Committee, the Finance Committee or any officer of the association. He shall submit a report of the accounts and financial condition of the association, and of all moneys received or expended by him, at each annual meeting of the association. He may be required to give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties, in such sum as the Executive Committee may require.

SECTION 2. An assistant treasurer may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties and exercise the powers, or some part thereof, of the treasurer. Such assistant treasurer may be either an individual or a corporation, who may in like manner be required to furnish a bond.

## ARTICLE VII

### THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. There shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of the president, the secretary, and five other Trustees elected by the Board by ballot for a

term of three years who shall be eligible for reelection. The members first elected shall determine their respective terms by lot, two to serve three years, two to serve two years and one a single year. A member elected to fill a vacancy shall serve for the remainder of the term.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the authority of the Board, and when the Board is not in session, exercise all the powers of the Board in the management, direction and supervision of the business and the conduct of the affairs of the association. It may appoint advisory committees, or agents, with such powers and duties as it shall approve, and shall fix salaries of officers, agents and employees.

SECTION 3. The Executive Committee shall direct the manner in which the books and accounts of the association shall be kept, and shall cause to be examined from time to time the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer for moneys received and paid out by him. Such committee shall submit a written report to the Board at each meeting of the Board, and shall submit an annual report to the annual meeting of the Board.

SECTION 4. Whenever any vacancy shall occur in the Executive Committee or in the office of secretary or treasurer, or in any other office of the association by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy shall be filled by appointment by the Executive Committee until the next annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.

SECTION 5. A majority of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

## ARTICLE VIII

### FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Finance Committee shall consist of three Trustees to be elected by the Trustees by ballot annually.

SECTION 2. The Finance Committee shall have custody of the permanent invested funds and securities of the association and general charge of its investments, and shall care for, invest and dispose of the same subject to the directions of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee. It shall consider and recommend to the Board from time to time such measures as in its opinion will promote the financial interests of the association, and shall make a report at each annual meeting of the Board.

Pending incorporation the title to the permanent invested funds and securities of the association, as well as the custody thereof, shall be vested in the Finance Committee in trust for the association.

## ARTICLE IX

### TERMS OF OFFICE

The terms of office of all officers and of all members of committees shall continue until their successors in each case are appointed.

## ARTICLE X

## FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

SECTION 1. The fiscal year of the association shall commence on the first day of July in each year.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee, at least one month prior to the annual meeting in each year, shall cause the accounts of the association to be audited by a skilled accountant, to be appointed by the president, and shall submit to the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees a full statement of the finances and work of the association, and shall mail to each member of the Board of Trustees a detailed estimate of expenses and requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year, thirty days before the annual meeting.

SECTION 3. The Board of Trustees at the annual meeting in each year shall make general appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year, and may make special appropriations from time to time.

SECTION 4. The securities of the association and other evidences of property shall be deposited under such safeguards as the Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate; and the moneys of the association shall be deposited in such banks or depositories as may from time to time be designated by the Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE XI

These by-laws may be amended at any annual or special meeting of the Board of Trustees by a majority vote of the members present, provided written notice of the proposed amendment shall be personally served upon, or mailed to the usual address of, each member of the Board at least twenty days prior to such meeting.

## ARTICLE XII

The Executive Committee is hereby empowered to accept, on behalf of the association, a charter of the tenor and form reported by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to the House on the third day of February, 1911 [H. R. 32084, "To incorporate the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace"], and laid before the Trustees of this association on the ninth day of March, 1911, with such alterations and amendments thereto as may be imposed by Congress and are not, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, inconsistent with the effective prosecution of the purposes of the association.

Upon the granting of such charter the property and business of the association shall be transferred to the corporation so formed and a meeting of the Trustees shall be called for the purpose of regulating and directing the further conduct of the business by the corporation.





## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE  
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE:

In compliance with Article VII, Section 3, of the By-Laws, the Executive Committee submits the following report for the preceding year.

Since the last annual meeting of the Board, on April 20, 1917, the Executive Committee has met on the following dates: April 20, May 22, October 8, and November 1, 1917, January 11 and March 2, 1918. The minutes of these meetings, showing in detail the actions and resolutions of the Committee, have been sent regularly to each member of the Board by the Secretary. The Trustees have likewise been regularly supplied with the reports of the Treasurer, made and submitted to each meeting of the Executive Committee pursuant to Article VI, Section 1, of the By-Laws.

For the convenience of the Trustees in comparing the allotments made by the Executive Committee, as shown in the minutes and in the Treasurer's reports, with the appropriations made by the Board, the Committee appends hereto a financial statement showing chronologically and in tabulated form the allotments made from the current appropriations, namely, those for 1917 and 1918, as compared with the amounts appropriated by the Board.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuant to Article II, Section 10 of the By-Laws, the Executive Committee has caused the accounts of the Endowment to be audited by a skilled accountant, whose report will be submitted to the forthcoming annual meeting of the Board. In further pursuance of the provisions of that section, there has been forwarded to each member of the Board a full statement of the finances and work of the association, together with a detailed estimate of expenses and requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year. These requirements, it will be noted, are considerably less than the amounts appropriated by the Board last year. A single item included in last year's appropriations but not in the present estimates, namely, the appropriation for the reconstruction of homes in certain devastated portions of Europe, accounts for five hundred thousand dollars of the decrease; but in addition to this item there is a general decrease in the appropriations for all of the Divisional work, but slight increases in the expenses of administration, due largely to the present abnormal increase in prices and wages, and in the estimate for sundry purposes, due in large measure to work undertaken for the government, as explained elsewhere.

The Trustees will be called upon at their present meeting, to fill two vacancies in the Board, caused by the deaths of Mr. Joseph H. Choate, and Mr. John

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, page 28.

W. Foster. Memorials commemorating the services of these two honored colleagues, and expressing the deep loss the Board has suffered by their decease, will be presented to the Trustees for adoption.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the memorial to Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the late Vice President of the Endowment, the Committee recommends to the Trustees that an appropriate portrait of him be painted and hung in the Board Room of the Endowment. An appropriation for the purchase of such a portrait approved by the family of Mr. Choate is included among the appropriations recommended by the Committee.

A list of the persons nominated to fill the vacancies in the Board has been sent to the Trustees, in accordance with Article I, Section 2, of the By-Laws.

The Board will also be called upon to elect, in regular course, the President, Vice President, Finance Committee, and to fill a vacancy in the Executive Committee arising because of the expiration of the term of Mr. Charlemagne Tower.

The reports of the Secretary and the Directors of the three Divisions, together with the minutes of the meetings of the Committee, contain complete and detailed explanations regarding the activities of the Endowment during the preceding year which have been carried on pursuant to the allotments and authorizations of the Committee; and attention will here be called to only a few matters which seem to require special mention.

### The Endowment and the War

While there was no room for the slightest possibility of doubt concerning the attitude of the individual members of the Board of Trustees toward the war upon which the United States entered a few weeks prior to the last annual meeting, the Trustees considered it of prime importance at that meeting to make a clear, definite and public statement of the attitude they had spontaneously determined to take in administering during this critical period the trust fund which had been set aside a few years ago under such promising and hopeful circumstances to be devoted to the promotion of the cause of international peace. They accordingly unanimously declared their belief that the most effectual means of promoting international peace was to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States. That declaration was given immediately to the press and published throughout the world, except where the enemy prevented its publication, and given general circulation through the agencies of the Division of Intercourse and Education.

It was subsequently learned that one of the means adopted in Germany to encourage the German people to continue their support of the war was the spread of reports to the effect that the demand for peace in America had grown so strong that a serious division of opinion existed among the American people concerning the continued prosecution of the war and, probably for the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> Printed, *infra*, pp. 241, 257.

offsetting the influence of the statement of the Trustees concerning the attitude of the Endowment, the people in the enemy countries were encouraged to believe that the Endowment was, in America, at the forefront of this alleged movement for peace with the enemy. To counteract as far as possible the effect of these false reports, the Executive Committee, on November 1, 1917, adopted unanimously the following resolution:

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20, last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

In view of recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim.

This declaration immediately was given widespread circulation throughout the world, and a special effort was made by the Division of Intercourse and Education to circulate it in Germany and Austria.

The Executive Committee believes that the publication and circulation of these two statements has not only made perfectly clear the Endowment's whole-hearted approval of the war as the only possible means of eliminating the most formidable and dangerous enemy of permanent international peace, but has also impressed this view upon all true-thinking believers in and workers for lasting international peace founded upon the only possible basis, namely, the principles of international justice.

### Services to the Government in the War

As an earnest of the whole-heartedness of their approval of the war and of their desire to assist the government in every way in its prosecution of the war, the Trustees, at their meeting in April last, offered the services of the Endowment to the government during the war, and, as it appeared that the

Division of International Law was practically organized and equipped for rendering useful service, a definite offer of the personnel and equipment of that Division was made for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war. This offer of the Trustees was communicated on the day following their meeting by the Secretary to the Secretary of State in the following letter:

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

2 JACKSON PLACE,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
*April 21, 1917.*

HONORABLE ROBERT LANSING,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

It is my very pleasant duty to inform you that at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace held at the headquarters of the Endowment in Washington, April 19, 1917, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Endowment offers to the Government of the United States the services of the Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war.

The Division of International Law of the Endowment has been engaged since its organization in researches and the preparation of material bearing upon the history and development of international law and, since the outbreak of the European War, upon many questions arising out of the war. It has available a large amount of information and a corps of trained officers and employes, all of which, by the above resolution, are placed at the disposal of the government. The resolution also includes the equipment of the Division of International Law, which is located in the headquarters buildings at Nos. 2 and 4 Jackson Place. The resolution, therefore, is to be considered as placing this Division of the Endowment at the disposal of the government as a unit.

Of course, a general offer to the government should be interpreted as an offer to the particular department of the government to which the Division of International Law may be of more appropriate service, and, since the nature of the work of the Division is in the line with, and many of its officers and employes are former officers and employes of the Department of State, I feel that the services and equipment of the Division should be offered to that Department, which offer I hereby convey as the representative of the Endowment in carrying out the above resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Should this offer prove acceptable to you, the Division, its equipment and personnel, is at the disposal of the Department of State, for such service as it may be called upon to perform, and, as Director of the Division of International Law, I should be pleased to discuss with you at your convenience any arrangement which you might care to make, in order to render this offer more effective.

I am,

Very respectfully,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
*Secretary.*

The offer was accepted by the Secretary of State on April 26 in the following reply:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON*April 26, 1917.*

MY DEAR DR. SCOTT:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st containing a copy of the Resolution, adopted on the 19th by the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in which the Board offers to the government the services of the Endowment's Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment.

I wish to express to you the very sincere thanks of the government for the generous offer of the Board of Trustees and on its behalf to accept the offer.

As you point out in your letter the Department of State is the department of the government which can avail itself of the services of the Division and I, therefore, feel personally very grateful to the Board for thus adding to the active force of the Department at a time when the burden of work is heavy and increasing from day to day.

I shall take the first opportunity to confer with you as to the incorporation of the Division into the public service in order that it may become an efficient adjunct to this Department and may enter upon its labors at the earliest possible time.

It will oblige me if you will convey to the Board of Trustees the appreciation of the government of their patriotic action in making the offer of service and the gratification which it gives me to accept it.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
Washington, D. C.

In pursuance of this offer and acceptance the Division of International Law has been engaged throughout the year in rendering services to the Department of State as they have been requested from time to time, the details of which are given in the report of the Director of the Division of International Law.

To enable the Division of International Law to carry on the work undertaken for the government, the Executive Committee placed at the disposal of the Director of that Division a special allotment in the sum of \$10,000.

**War Activities of Trustees and Personnel of the Endowment**

Besides the work which the Endowment as an organization is rendering to the government in aid of the prosecution of the war, a number of Trustees, officers and members of the Endowment's staff have been or are now actively engaged in different lines of public duties directly connected with the prosecution of the war.

The President of the Endowment has rendered not only national but international service as Ambassador Extraordinary and Chairman of the American mission sent by President Wilson to convey America's message to the Russian people after their overthrow of the monarchical form of government. The addresses which Mr. Root delivered in Russia as head of the mission, and in the United States upon his return, together with the addresses of the other members of the mission, have recently been issued in permanent form and are being distributed by the Endowment.

The Endowment's Vice President, the Honorable Joseph H. Choate, rendered conspicuous service as Chairman of the New York Committee for the reception of the war missions from Great Britain and France, which visited this country immediately after the declaration of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and it can truthfully be said that he died not only in the performance but because of the performance of these duties.

The Honorable Robert Bacon, a member of the Board of Trustees, is Colonel in the American Expeditionary Force now in France and is General Pershing's official representative at British Headquarters.

Mr. Robert S. Brookings, another Trustee, is a member of the War Industries Board of the Council of National Defense where he is rendering devoted service.

The Acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education has served as a member of the committee appointed by the Mayor of New York to entertain the various official foreign war missions, and served as Chairman of the Committee on Reception of the Italian War Mission to the United States.

In this connection, it is a pleasure to record that Mr. Frederick P. Keppel, Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation, a most important and active agency in carrying on the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education, has been connected with the War Department in an important capacity for several months, and, as a reward for faithful service, has just been appointed an Assistant Secretary of War.

The Secretary and Director of the Division of International Law holds a commission as Major and Judge Advocate in the United States Reserves, and as such he served from May 15, 1917, to February 3, 1918, in the office of the Provost Marshal General, assisting that office in the important work connected with the first selective draft of men for the army. On the latter date he was detailed to the Department of State for special work in connection with the preparation of material upon questions of international law preliminary to a peace conference.

The Assistant to the Secretary and Assistant Director of the Division of International Law, Mr. George A. Finch, is giving a part of his time to the War Industries Board of the Council of National Defense, assisting that body in important negotiations relating to international cooperation in the procurement and distribution of raw materials essential for war purposes.

The Chief Clerk of the Secretary's Office, Mr. J. Edwin Young, is in active service as a Captain in the Quartermaster's Corps of the United States Reserves.

The Librarian of the Endowment, Miss Kathryn Sellers, is devoting a part of her time to the Department of State in the preparation of a chronology of the war and making available for ready official use important information regarding the war.

Mr. George D. Gregory, a clerk in the Division of International Law, served as an attaché of the American Mission to Russia headed by Mr. Root.



Mr. Clarence K. Glover, clerk to the Assistant Secretary, enlisted in the Medical Corps of the army and has been serving in France since last summer.

### **Endowment Offices Turned over to the Government**

In addition to the work performed for the government by the Endowment and the detail of members of its personnel to different branches of the government service, the Executive Committee has also taken pleasure in placing at the disposal of the Government Committee on Public Information the use of its Board Room for holding committee meetings, and the use of its Library. It has turned over the occupancy of the entire building owned by the Endowment at No. 6 Jackson Place in order to relieve in some measure the crowded condition of this government office and to facilitate its work. The Executive Committee believes that it properly interpreted the sense of the Trustees, not only in offering these facilities, but in offering the building free of rental or any other charges whatever, including the cost of heat and light supplied from the Endowment's central plant.

### **Reconstruction of Devastated Homes in Europe**

The Trustees were not content to affirm the hearty support of the Endowment to the Government of the United States in its war against Germany, but desired to show in a practical way their sympathy with the nations of Europe which have borne the brunt of Germany's onslaught in pursuit of world domination. The Trustees, therefore, as an act of sympathy with the suffering which has fallen upon innocent and helpless noncombatants in the existing war, at their last meeting appropriated the sum of five hundred thousand dollars to be expended by the Executive Committee as speedily as may be, to aid in the reconstruction of homes in the devastated portions of France, Belgium, Serbia or Russia.

At its meeting held immediately upon the adjournment of the Board, the Executive Committee authorized the Acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education to communicate the action of the Trustees to the proper officials of the governments concerned, and to procure for the Executive Committee such information as would aid it in formulating a policy in regard to the expenditure of the appropriation. Grateful acknowledgments were promptly received from the governments communicated with,<sup>1</sup> and a correspondence was begun designed to enlighten the Executive Committee as to the most appropriate and advantageous procedure to be followed in carrying out the wishes of the Trustees. As the result of this correspondence, it has developed that the responsible officials of the governments concerned desire to have action under the appropriation suspended until after the conclusion of the war.

In view of this suggestion, and to enable the Endowment to make at the proper time the expenditures from the said appropriation without embarrass-

<sup>1</sup> See texts printed in report of the Acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education, *infra*, p. 71 *et seq.*

ment to its normal work, the Executive Committee decided to establish a reserve fund for the accumulation of funds to meet the requirements of this appropriation when its use is desired. As a first instalment of this fund, the Executive Committee has set aside the sum of \$112,500, now invested in United States Government Liberty Bonds, the purchase of which will be duly reported to the Board by the Finance Committee. The action of the Committee in establishing this reserve fund was taken in pursuance of the resolution of the Trustees passed at the time the appropriation was made, directing that payments on account of the appropriation be made out of income not otherwise appropriated as it shall from time to time be available for that purpose. The Committee expects to increase the reserve fund by such investments or the allotment of such income as the Committee may from time to time deem wise, until the total amount of the appropriation has been reached.

### Omission of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board

The Executive Committee considered in due season the question of holding a semi-annual meeting of the Board of Trustees on the second Friday of last November. After careful consideration the Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That in view of the resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees at its last annual meeting in favor of prosecuting the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy in accordance with the policy declared by the President; in view of the fact that the entire income and available funds of the Endowment were specifically appropriated at the last annual meeting of the Board; and in view of the fact that any discussion of the terms of peace or of the views incident thereto by such a body as the Trustees of the Endowment might well be the cause of serious embarrassment to the American Government in its conduct of foreign affairs under present conditions, the Executive Committee is of the unanimous opinion that the semi-annual meeting of the Trustees for the purpose of discussion should not take place until some situation arises which calls for the effective consideration of the Trustees, in which case the Executive Committee will proceed forthwith to call a special meeting.

A copy of the above resolution was transmitted by the Secretary to each member of the Board of Trustees, with a request for his approval of the omission of the meeting. The responses to the Secretary's communication showed that twenty members of the Board favored the omission of the November meeting, and that two were opposed to this action. Five Trustees failed to respond to the letter. The meeting was accordingly not held, and no situation has since arisen requiring the effective consideration of the Trustees in a special meeting to be called for that purpose.

### Subventions to Peace Societies

It will be recalled that last year there was a difference of opinion in the Board as to the continuance of the subventions to the American Peace Society

and the New York Peace Society. After discussing the matter at length, the Board decided to leave this question to the discretion of the Executive Committee and placed funds at its disposal for continuing these subventions in case the Committee thought it advisable so to do.

The applications of these societies for the renewal of the subventions were presented to the Executive Committee at its meeting on May 22, 1917. The final attitude of the Committee and the action taken by it after careful deliberation are concisely stated in the following extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Committee on that date:

There was a general feeling that these societies should not be dependent upon the Endowment for their support, but that they should enlist the aid of others interested in the peace movement. It was appreciated, however, that it would be difficult for them to raise money from other sources during the war, and the suspension of their activities during the continuance of the war did not seem to be desired. It was finally decided to make grants for the present year in reduced amount, without any obligation of continuing or renewing them.

The American Peace Society was granted the sum of twenty thousand dollars for its support and maintenance during the fiscal year 1918, and the New York Peace Society the sum of four thousand dollars for the same purpose and a like period of time. No specific amounts have been included in the estimates next year for these two organizations, but the emergency appropriation will be sufficiently large to provide for any grants to these organizations that the Trustees may direct or that the Executive Committee may subsequently decide upon in case the renewal of these subventions is left to the continued discretion of the Committee.

### Resolutions Submitted for Approval of the Trustees

To carry out the recommendations which have been approved by the Committee and printed in tabulated form in the statement of requirements for appropriation, the following resolutions are submitted for adoption by the Board:

#### APPROPRIATION FOR ADMINISTRATION

*Resolved*, That the sum of fifty-one thousand, nine hundred twelve dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the purposes of administration, and charged to the current income for that year.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR SUNDRY PURPOSES

*Resolved*, That the sum of thirty-two thousand, three hundred two dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for sundry purposes, and charged to the current income for that year.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR THE DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

*Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred sixty-eight thousand, seven hundred eighty-eight dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended

under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of Intercourse and Education, and charged to the current income for that year.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR THE DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

*Resolved*, That the sum of forty thousand, two hundred fifty dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of Economics and History, and charged to the current income for that year.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR THE DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

*Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred eleven thousand, one hundred eighty-four dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of International Law, and charged to the current income for that year.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR EMERGENCIES

*Resolved*, That to meet unforeseen emergencies as they arise during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of ninety-seven thousand, eight hundred seventy dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated, as a separate fund from the unappropriated balance from the income of the Endowment, to be specially allotted by the Executive Committee in its discretion.

The Committee also submits the following resolution to provide an appropriation for the purchase of a portrait of the late Vice President of the Endowment, as above mentioned:

*Resolved*, That the sum of two thousand dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended by the Executive Committee for the purchase of a facsimile of the portrait of the late Mr. Choate, Vice President of the Endowment, painted in 1906 by Mrs. Ellen Emmet Rand, the said portrait, when finished, to be hung in the Board Room of the Endowment.

#### Funds Available for Appropriation for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1919

The following funds will be available for appropriation by the Board of Trustees to provide the amounts included in the estimates approved by the Executive Committee:

Balance of unappropriated income, June 30, 1917.....	\$160,580.97
Income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918:	
Interest on the Endowment.....	\$500,000.00
Interest on income invested.....	3,559.95
Interest on bank deposits (estimated).....	12,000.00
Sales of publications (to February 28, 1918).....	71.82
Royalties on publications (to February 28, 1918).....	2.20
Miscellaneous receipts (to February 28, 1918).....	52.18
Refunds (to February 28, 1918).....	2,454.25
	<hr/>
	\$518,140.40

Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918 <sup>1</sup> .....	\$609,995.00	
Excess of appropriations over the income for 1918 <sup>1</sup> .....		\$91,854.60
Balance of unappropriated surplus June 30, 1918 <sup>1</sup> .....		\$68,726.37
Balances of appropriations and allotments subject to be covered into the Treasury June 30, 1918 (estimated):		
Unallotted balance of 1917 appropriations (subject to allotment until June 30, 1918).....	\$48,661.20	
Unexpended balances of 1917 allotments (Feb. 28, 1918) \$181,190.82		
Less amount which it is estimated will be used ...	56,190.82	
	125,000.00	
		173,661.20
Total estimated surplus, June 30, 1918 <sup>1</sup> .....		\$242,387.57
Income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919:		
Interest on the Endowment.....	\$500,000.00	
Interest on income invested (estimated).....	3,937.50	
Interest on bank deposits (estimated).....	12,000.00	
		515,937.50
Total.....		\$758,325.07
Less:		
Reserve fund for the amortization of \$500,000 appropriated for the reconstruction of devastated homes in Europe:		
Investment in U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	\$112,500.00	
Interest on Liberty Bonds to June 30, 1919 (estimated)...	7,597.45	
		120,097.45
TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR APPROPRIATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1919.....		\$638,227.62
Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, recommended by the Executive Committee:		
Administration.....	\$51,912.00	
Sundry purposes.....	32,302.00	
Division of Intercourse and Education.....	168,788.00	
Division of Economics and History.....	40,250.00	
Division of International Law.....	111,184.00	
Emergency appropriation.....	97,870.00	
TOTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1919.....		\$502,306.00
Balance of unappropriated income at the end of the fiscal year 1919, if the above appropriations are made <sup>1</sup> .....		\$135,921.62

Respectfully submitted,

ELIHU ROOT, *Chairman*,  
 JAMES BROWN SCOTT, *Secretary*,  
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,  
 AUSTEN G. FOX,  
 ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,  
 HENRY S. PRITCHETT,  
 CHARLEMAGNE TOWER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1918.*

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of \$500,000 appropriated for reconstruction of devastated homes in Europe for which reserve fund has been established.

# APPENDIX

## Financial Statement

Showing Allotments as Compared with Estimates and Appropriations for the  
Fiscal Years 1917 and 1918

### SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1917

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
April 21, 1916.	Salaries—officials.....	\$16,500.00	\$16,500.00
April 21, 1916.	Salaries—clerks.....	13,620.00	13,620.00
April 21, 1916.	Stationery and office expenses.....	6,100.00	6,100.00
April 21, 1916.	Maintenance of headquarters.....	4,530.00	4,530.00
April 21, 1916.	Traveling expenses.....	3,000.00	3,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Contingencies.....	500.00	500.00
		<u>\$44,250.00</u>	<u>\$44,250.00</u>
April 21, 1916.	Maintenance and upkeep of the Library.....	\$5,320.00	\$5,320.00
April 21, 1916.	Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1917.....	7,000.00	7,000.00
		<u>\$12,320.00</u>	<u>\$12,320.00</u>

### DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1917

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
April 21, 1916.	Expenses of the Division in New York (salaries, rent, stationery, etc.).....	\$12,600.00	\$12,600.00
April 21, 1916.	Maintenance of the European Bureau and Secretariat.....	16,000.00	16,000.00
April 21, 1916.	International Arbitration League.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
April 21, 1916.	American Association for International Conciliation.....	38,500.00	38,500.00
April 21, 1916.	Latin American exchange.....	40,000.00	40,000.00
April 21, 1916.	International visits of representative men.....	20,000.00	20,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors....	5,000.00	5,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Preparation of material for textbooks.....	10,000.00	10,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Publicity.....	10,000.00	
April 21, 1916.	Work through newspapers and periodicals.....	\$10,000.00	11,750.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	Addition to allotment.....	1,750.00	
April 21, 1916.	Contingencies.....	17,250.00	17,250.00
April 21, 1916.	Other subventions in the United States:		
April 21, 1916.	France-America Committee of New York.....	\$2,500.00	2,500.00
May 20, 1916.	American Peace Society.....	25,000.00	25,000.00
May 20, 1916.	New York Peace Society.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
May 20, 1916.	Aid to periodicals:		
May 20, 1916.	Die Friedens-Warte.....	\$4,500.00	4,500.00
May 20, 1916.	La Paix par le Droit.....	1,500.00	1,500.00
	The Arbitrator.....	250.00	
	The Herald of Peace.....	250.00	
	Concord.....	250.00	
		<u>6,750.00</u>	

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
May 20, 1916.	Honoraria of the Special Correspondents .....	\$5,900.00	\$3,900.00
Oct. 27, 1916.	Work through international polity clubs .....	10,000.00	9,000.00
Oct. 27, 1916.	Japan Society of New York .....	4,000.00	4,000.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	Publication of La Bibliothèque Americaine .....		2,000.00
		<u>\$230,500.00</u>	<u>\$230,500.00</u>

## DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1917

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
April 21, 1916.	Expenses of the Division and editorial work .....	\$13,000.00	\$13,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Honoraria of the Committee of Research .....	18,000.00	17,000.00
	Translating and printing .....	25,000.00	
May 20, 1916.	Printing the works of the Committee of Research .....	\$10,000.00	20,000.00
May 20, 1916.	Translation of works of the Committee of Research .....	10,000.00	
	Research work, including South American trip and a study of the present war .....	50,000.00	
May 20, 1916.	Contracts of the Committee of Research .....	\$30,000.00	30,000.00
Oct. 27, 1916.	Material for an economic study of the European War .....	10,000.00	10,000.00
Feb. 23, 1917.	Economic inquiry in California, Japan and China .....	2,500.00	2,500.00
	Contingent fund .....	10,000.00	
	Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918) .....		23,500.00
		<u>\$116,000.00</u>	<u>\$116,000.00</u>

## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1917

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
April 21, 1916.	Clerical assistance .....	\$10,180.00	\$10,180.00
April 21, 1916.	Office expenses .....	1,500.00	1,500.00
April 21, 1916.	Publication and distribution of pamphlets of the Division .....	2,000.00	2,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Collection and publication of international arbitrations .....	6,000.00	6,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Aid to international law journals:		
	Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law .....	8,500.00	8,500.00
April 21, 1916.	Revue Générale de Droit International Public .....	1,500.00	1,500.00
April 21, 1916.	Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée .....	1,000.00	1,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Rivista di Diritto Internazionale .....	320.00	320.00
April 21, 1916.	Japanese Review of International Law .....	1,300.00	1,300.00
April 21, 1916.	Jahrbuch des Völkerrechts .....	1,000.00	1,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Journal du Droit International .....	2,000.00	2,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Revue de Droit International Privé et de Droit Pénal International .....	1,000.00	1,000.00
April 21, 1916.	Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée .....	1,500.00	1,500.00
April 21, 1916.	American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes .....	5,000.00	5,000.00
April 21, 1916.	English summary of the Japanese Review of International Law .....	2,500.00	2,500.00
May 20, 1916.	Printing and distribution of publications of the Division .....	10,000.00	10,000.00

## CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
Oct. 27, 1916.	Publications of the American Institute of International Law. . . . .	\$20,000.00	\$5,000.00
Nov. 27, 1916.	Meeting of the American Institute of International Law, 1917. . . . .		15,000.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	Fellowships of international law. . . . .	10,000.00	8,750.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	French editions of the works of the Division. . . . .		16,500.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	Classics of International Law, distribution. . . . .		<sup>1</sup> 3,265.01
Jan. 4, 1917.	Classics of International Law, honoraria. . . . .		6,350.00
May 22, 1917.	Classics of International Law, editorial assistance. . . . .		1,000.00
Feb. 23, 1917.	Purchase and distribution of Peace Through Justice. . . . .		350.00
Feb. 23, 1917.	Exchange of international law professors. . . . .		1,041.66
Mar. 15, 1917.	Committee on the study and teaching of international law. . . . .		2,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Documents regarding the international relations of China. . . . .		10,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Classic projects for international organization. . . . .		600.00
May 22, 1917.	Proceedings of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. . . . .		1,000.00
	Preparation of revised edition of Lawrence's Evolution of Peace. . . . .	1,000.00	
	Aid in carrying out recommendations of the conference of teachers of international law and of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress. . . . .	25,000.00	
	Contingent fund. . . . .	15,000.00	
	Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918). . . . .		143.33
		<u>\$126,300.00</u>	<u>\$126,300.00</u>

## EMERGENCY APPROPRIATION, 1917

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
Oct. 27, 1916.	Entertainment of distinguished visitors. . . . .		\$1,000.00
Jan. 4, 1917.	Classics of International Law, transfer of. . . . .		1,152.13
Feb. 23, 1917.	Work through newspapers and periodicals. . . . .		30,000.00
Feb. 23, 1917.	Conference of representatives of the press. . . . .		25,000.00
Feb. 23, 1917.	Distribution of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relating to neutral rights and commerce. . . . .		7,020.00
April 20, 1917.	Fiore's Il Diritto Internazionale Codificato. . . . .		2,750.00
April 20, 1917.	Classics of International Law, publication of. . . . .		7,500.00
May 22, 1917.	Emergency increase in salaries of employes. . . . .		5,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Purchase of the published addresses of Mr. Root. . . . .	\$260.00	660.00
Jan. 11, 1918.	Additional allotment. . . . .		
Oct. 8, 1917.	Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1917. . . . .	400.00	700.00
Jan. 11, 1918.	Remodeling of No. 4 Jackson Place. . . . .		2,000.00
Jan. 11, 1918.	Maintenance of headquarters. . . . .		2,200.00
	Amount estimated and appropriated. . . . .	\$110,000.00	
	Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918). . . . .		25,017.87
		<u>\$110,000.00</u>	<u>\$110,000.00</u>

<sup>1</sup> Additional allotments for the Classics of International Law made from the Emergency appropriation for 1917.



## SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1918

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
May 22, 1917.	Salaries—officials.....	\$19,000.00	\$19,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Salaries—clerks.....	14,080.00	14,080.00
May 22, 1917.	Stationery and office expenses.....	5,500.00	5,500.00
May 22, 1917.	Maintenance of headquarters.....	4,530.00	4,530.00
May 22, 1917.	Traveling expenses.....	3,000.00	3,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Entertainment of distinguished visitors.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Contingencies.....	500.00	500.00
		<u>\$47,610.00</u>	<u>\$47,610.00</u>
May 22, 1917.	Maintenance and upkeep of the Library.....	\$5,440.00	\$5,440.00
May 22, 1917.	Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1918.....	7,000.00	7,000.00
		<u>\$12,440.00</u>	<u>\$12,440.00</u>

## DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1918

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
April 20, 1917.	Expenses of the Division in New York (salaries, rent, stationery, etc.).....	\$12,660.00	\$12,660.00
April 20, 1917.	International Arbitration League.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
April 20, 1917.	American Association for International Conciliation.....	39,950.00	39,450.00
April 20, 1917.	Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors....	5,000.00	5,000.00
April 20, 1917.	Honoraria of the Special Correspondents.....	4,400.00	4,600.00
April 20, 1917.	Publicity.....	20,000.00	
April 20, 1917.	Work through newspapers and periodicals....		<sup>1</sup> 20,000.00
April 20, 1917.	International polity clubs and other work in colleges and summer schools.....	15,000.00	
April 20, 1917.	Work through international polity clubs.....	\$15,000.00	
May 22, 1917.	Courses in universities on international relations.....	10,000.00	25,000.00
April 20, 1917.	Other subventions in the United States:		
April 20, 1917.	France-America Committee of New York.....	2,500.00	
April 20, 1917.	American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.....	500.00	
April 20, 1917.	Maintenance of the European Bureau and Secretariat.....	16,000.00	10,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Latin-American exchange.....	40,000.00	40,000.00
May 22, 1917.	International visits of representative men.....	20,000.00	20,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Contingencies.....	41,990.00	41,990.00
May 22, 1917.	Japan Society of New York.....	5,000.00	
	Preparation of materials for textbooks.....	5,000.00	
	Aid to periodicals:		
	Die Friedens-Warte.....	4,500.00	
	La Paix par le Droit.....	1,500.00	
	Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918)...		12,300.00
		<u>\$235,000.00</u>	<u>\$235,000.00</u>

<sup>1</sup> Additional allotments for work through newspapers and periodicals made from the Emergency appropriation for 1917.

## DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1918

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
May 22, 1917.	Expenses of the Division in New York (salaries, rent, stationery, editorial work, etc.)	\$15,000.00	\$13,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Honoraria of the Committee of Research	17,000.00	15,000.00
	Research work	54,000.00	
	Translating and printing	25,000.00	
	Contingent fund	10,000.00	
	Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918)		93,000.00
		<u>\$121,000.00</u>	<u>\$121,000.00</u>

## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1918

Date of Allotment		Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments
May 22, 1917.	Clerical assistance	\$10,100.00	\$10,100.00
May 22, 1917.	Office expenses	2,000.00	2,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Pamphlet series	2,000.00	2,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Collection and publication of international arbitrations	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Aid to international law journals:		
May 22, 1917.	Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law	8,500.00	8,500.00
May 22, 1917.	Revue Générale de Droit International Public	1,500.00	1,500.00
May 22, 1917.	Rivista di Diritto Internazionale	320.00	320.00
May 22, 1917.	Japanese Review of International Law	1,300.00	1,300.00
May 22, 1917.	Journal du Droit International	2,000.00	2,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée	1,500.00	1,500.00
May 22, 1917.	American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Exchange of international law professors	5,000.00	
May 22, 1917.	Lecture tour of Mr. Alejandro Alvarez		5,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Aid to Barclay's New Methods of Adjusting International Disputes	600.00	600.00
May 22, 1917.	Collection of treaties since the Peace of Westphalia	1,250.00	1,250.00
May 22, 1917.	Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens	3,000.00	3,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Official correspondence of the United States regarding the emancipation of Latin American countries	5,000.00	5,000.00
May 22, 1917.	Publications of the Division	20,000.00	10,000.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Madison's Notes of Debates in the Constitutional Convention		1,300.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Monograph on Plebiscites		250.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Distribution of Vreeland's Hugo Grotius		687.50
	Classics of International Law	50,000.00	
Oct. 8, 1917.	} Classics of International Law, honoraria		
Nov. 1, 1917.			<sup>1</sup> 2,300.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Aid to Lawrence's Society of Nations		1,000.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Aid to La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre		1,100.00
Oct. 8, 1917.	Aid to the Grotius Society of London		1,250.00
Nov. 1, 1917.	Spanish edition of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relating to neutral rights and commerce		2,629.08
Jan. 11, 1918.	Aid to Minor's A Republic of Nations		850.00
Jan. 11, 1918.	Purchase of A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany		250.00

<sup>1</sup> Additional allotments for the Classics of International Law made from the Emergency appropriation for 1917.

Date of Allotment	Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments.
English summary of the Japanese Review of Inter- national Law . . . . .	\$2,500.00	
American Institute of International Law . . . . .	25,000.00	
Aid to the study and teaching of international law..	25,000.00	
Aid to Das Werk vom Haag . . . . .	1,375.00	
Contingent fund . . . . .	15,000.00	
Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918) . . . . .		\$117,258.42
	<u>\$193,945.00</u>	<u>\$193,945.00</u>
RECONSTRUCTION OF HOMES IN FRANCE, BELGIUM, SERBIA OR RUSSIA		
	Estimated and Appropriated	Allotments.
Reconstruction of homes in France, Belgium, Serbia or Russia . . . .	\$500,000.00	
Balance unallotted (February 28, 1918) . . . . .		\$500,000.00
	<u>\$500,000.00</u>	<u>\$500,000.00</u>



## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY



## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

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TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE  
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE:

In compliance with Article V, Section 2, of the By-Laws, the Secretary submits the following report on the operations and business of the Endowment for the preceding fiscal year, namely, the year ended June 30, 1917. In order to give the Trustees information as nearly up to date as possible, the report also, in many respects, deals with the period from July 1, 1917, up to the date of the present writing.

### The Endowment and the War

The general policy and plan controlling the work of the Secretary's office was determined by the resolution unanimously adopted by the Board of Trustees at the annual meeting on April 20, 1917, and printed in the report of the Executive Committee.

This attitude was reinforced by the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1, 1917, also included in the report of the Executive Committee.

In order that there can be no room for any misunderstanding of the attitude of the Endowment upon the great question of the hour, all of its stationery now carries the motto: "Peace through Victory."

Another resolution of the Trustees tendered to the Department of State the services of the Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, to assist in dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war. This tender was promptly and cordially accepted by Secretary Lansing, and the Division has since been engaged chiefly in work assigned to it by the Department. The nature of these services is described in the report of the Director of the Division. The work and publications of the Division of Intercourse and Education have been largely devoted to undertakings calculated to arouse the patriotism and stimulate the popular efforts to aid the government in bringing the war for the safety of democracy to a speedy and successful end. The Division of Economics and History has been almost entirely occupied in the preparation and publication of its series of preliminary economic studies of the war, which are described by the Director of the Division. So far as these studies have been published, there has been a large public demand for them and they are receiving a wide circulation. A large part of the correspondence passing over the Secretary's desk has been concerned with one or another phase of the activities enumerated.

It is indeed a bitter reflection that, within one year after the dedication, August 28, 1913, of the Palace of Peace at The Hague, built by the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, and within three years of his founding of this Endowment "to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization," there should have been precipitated the greatest, the bloodiest, and the most costly war in the annals of history; that this war should have gradually extended until it includes most of the leading nations of the globe, and has brought indescribable loss, suffering and sorrow to every continent and every people; that the United States of America, the most peaceful and altruistic of nations, without ambitions or designs beyond its own development and prosperity should have found itself compelled, by the conscious, constant and persistent violation of the rules of law and of the dictates of humanity in the submarine warfare waged by the Imperial German Government indiscriminately against its enemies and the United States as a neutral to have declared a state of war against that Imperial Government; that similar misconduct on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government should have caused the Congress of the United States, on December 7, 1917, to declare a state of war against that Imperial and Royal Government; and that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace should find no other course open to it, in its desire for law and its observance in the relations between nations, than to pledge its energies in aid of the prosecution of these wars against these two governments, which are but a part of the larger conflict devastating the Old World and threatening, if not actually destroying, that civilization which is at once the pride and the hope of the New as well as of the Old World. This attitude of the Endowment has the complete approval of its founder. One of the Endowment's Trustees, at a meeting of the New York Peace Society, described a recent interview with Mr. Carnegie, saying that he was "extraordinarily hopeful of peace—of the kind of peace we want, of an American peace that will guard the future against any such inroad on the ideal of civilization as has inflicted this war upon the world."

This conclusion rests upon two fundamental postulates of the historical peace movement; one is that permanent international peace is impossible so long as militarism is permitted to remain the basis and reliance of great nations, thus forcing their neighbors to become armed camps for protection against sudden attack; the other is that as a substitute for militarism there must be established a new code of international morals, based upon international justice, as determined by a more fully developed system of international law, to govern the future relations of the nations. Until these two fundamentals are accepted, under circumstances which compel their observance, permanent international peace is impossible. It can never be possible so long as any great European power, guided not by the will of its people through representative government, but by the secret plans of military autocracy, and violating ruthlessly whenever it will the accepted canons of international law, is able to assert its power and its creed in the very heart of Europe. From these facts we are permitted to draw



the following conclusions, and indeed the historical peace movement rests upon them as fundamental postulates:

(1) Permanent international peace is impossible so long as militarism is the basis and reliance of great nations, thus forcing their neighbors to become armed camps for protection against sudden attack.

(2) The morality of the individual should be accepted by the nations, and a new code of international conduct, based upon international justice as determined by a more fully developed system of international law must govern the future relations of nations, and be substituted for militarism.

Believing, as the Trustees do, that militarism blocks the way to law, upon which peace must be based if it is to be desirable and to be permanent, it was natural, indeed inevitable, that they should publicly declare their belief, as they did by resolution of April 19, 1917, "that the most effectual means for promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States," and that the Executive Committee, on behalf of the Endowment, should subsequently reaffirm and elaborate this declaration, as it did on November 1, 1917, and pledge it anew and in the following unequivocal terms, which can not be too often quoted, "to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat." Thus believing, the Executive Committee, on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, called "upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim." And it has itself observed the call by devoting its energies and by placing its resources at the disposal of the government and the people of the United States.

### **The Deceased Members of the Board**

Since the last report of the Secretary, death has removed two of the most distinguished members of the Board of Trustees. Honorable Joseph H. Choate of New York, the Vice President of the Endowment, died May 14, 1917, and Honorable John W. Foster of Washington, ex-Secretary of State, died November 15, 1917. A month before his death Mr. Choate came to Washington to attend the annual meeting of the Trustees, and was one of the most alert and interested participants in the action of the Board. General Foster had been ill for many months, but retained all his great mental faculties up to the day of his death. Appropriate tributes to each are submitted by the Executive Committee for action by the Board.

The faces of these venerable associates are preserved in our memories by the portraits which hang in the Board Room. But the Secretary can not let pass this opportunity to make formal record of the sense of personal loss which has come to each member of the Board, and in recognition of the sympathetic and helpful cooperation of these deceased associates in the great work of the Endowment, for which they were chosen by the founder because of their long tested interest in and devotion to the cause of international justice. Mr. Choate, in his capacity as Ambassador to Great Britain and as Chairman of the American delegation to the Second Hague Conference, had long been recognized as one of the great international promoters and bulwarks of the cause; and General Foster, by his services as Secretary of State and by his vigorous pen before and after that service, has exercised a power of influence on both continents.

Four of the twenty-eight Trustees chosen by Mr. Carnegie in 1910 have thus passed away in the eight years since the Endowment was organized. Mr. Albert K. Smiley of Lake Mohonk, New York, died December 2, 1912, and Mr. John L. Cadwalader of Philadelphia died March 11, 1914.

The Secretary recommends that portraits of these four former Trustees be carried in the Year Book, accompanying the memorial resolutions adopted by the Board in each case.

#### **War Service by the Secretary's Personnel**

The personnel of the Secretary's office has been more or less seriously affected by the declaration of war against the Imperial German Government. Almost immediately thereafter, on May 15, the Secretary, holding a commission as Major and Judge Advocate in the United States Reserves, was called into active service and attached to the office of the Provost Marshal General, where he served in connection with the formulation of the rules and regulations for the first selective draft. His time until February 3, 1918, was very largely occupied there with these and with other important duties. On that date, in response to a request from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War issued an order directing the Secretary of the Endowment to report to the State Department, until further orders, for special research work which is referred to more fully in the report of the Division of International Law. This detail went into effect at once and continues.

Since January 22, 1918, the Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. George A. Finch, has been, with the permission of the Executive Committee, devoting a part of his time as expert in the War Industries Board of the Council of National Defense, assisting that body in important negotiations relating to international cooperation in the procurement and distribution of certain raw material essential for purposes of the war.

On July 28, 1917, the Chief Clerk of the office, Mr. J. Edwin Young, commissioned a Captain in the Quartermaster's Corps of the United States Reserves, was called into active service and detailed to Governor's Island, where he has since remained.

On February 21, 1918, the Department of State requested the detail of Miss Kathryn Sellers, the Librarian of the Endowment, for confidential work for the Department. In view of the increasing work in the Library, the Endowment was unable to consent to the actual detail of the Librarian, but an arrangement was made whereby Miss Sellers is now devoting a large part of her time to the work of the Department, having taken the oath of office on March 1, and having under her two departmental clerks who have been detailed for her assistance. This work includes a chronicle of international events with analytical index based on official reports.

Mr. Clarence K. Glover, clerk to the Assistant Secretary, who had enlisted in the Medical Corps of the Army, was sent to France on June 26, 1917.

Frequent changes in the clerical personnel have also occurred, due to the fact that various departments of the government offered larger salaries than the Secretary was authorized to pay. There has been considerable difficulty in filling the places of these clerks, owing to the constantly growing demands of the government for clerical assistance.

### Secretarial Duties

During the period covered by this report the Secretary has performed the duties which devolve upon him under the By-Laws as chief administrative officer of the Endowment and Secretary of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee.

In the latter capacities he has supervised the arrangement of the meetings of the Board and of the Executive Committee, prepared the business for consideration, attended the meetings, recorded the minutes and distributed them to the Trustees in printed form. The amount of work involved in the performance of these important and exacting duties has been considerable, as will appear from the detailed account of its work given in the separate report of the Executive Committee.

As the official in charge of the administrative branch of the Endowment's work, the Secretary has carried on its correspondence and generally supervised its work. He has signed such instruments in the name of the Endowment as have been authorized by the Executive Committee, especially the contracts which have been executed in the Divisions for carrying on their work. The books of account of all moneys or disposition of property received and paid out on account of the association have been kept in his office, and he has countersigned all checks, orders, bills and drafts for the payment of money, and cared for the property of the association entrusted to his custody. During such times as the Secretary has been necessarily absent from the office in the performance of governmental duties incident to the war under details approved by the Executive Committee, his duties with the Endowment have been performed by the Assistant Secretary and the Assistant to the Secretary.

Two years ago, in view of the impression that may have existed in some

measure that the Endowment had ceased functioning on account of the world war, the Secretary had occasion to inform the Trustees in detail regarding the Endowment's activities entrusted to his immediate supervision.<sup>1</sup> The facts and figures contained in that report demonstrated that so far as the Secretary's office was concerned, such relaxation in work was more apparent than real, and that, due to the location of the Endowment headquarters in the very center of governmental activities, there had been an increased demand upon the headquarters establishment for information and assistance of one kind or another from both public and private quarters. It is not believed that any useful purpose would be subserved by again making a detailed comparative statement of the work performed in the different lines for the past several years. For information of this kind, the Secretary refers the Trustees to his report for the year 1916, above referred to, and adds that, generally speaking, the work of the last year has been of about the same kind and quantity as the work performed during the previous several years. Full information regarding certain of the more important branches of the work are given in subsequent separate sections of this report.

#### Statement Showing Disbursements by Divisions and Subjects from the Date of Organization, December 14, 1910, to June 30, 1917

But the Secretary believes that it will be useful to the Trustees as an index to the development of the Endowment's activities during the seven years which have elapsed since its establishment and particularly during the periods prior to and succeeding the outbreak of the present war, to make at this time a general report and comparison, year by year, of the expenditures of the Endowment, grouped according to the purposes for which expended. He therefore submits the following tables, showing the expenditures for the Secretary's office and general administration, the Division of Intercourse and Education, the Division of Economics and History and the Division of International Law, in which the expenditures for each of these general Divisions are subdivided into five main groups:

##### SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Fiscal year	Salaries and expenses	Maintenance of headquarters, including purchases and repairs	Library	Year Book	Miscellaneous	Total
1911.....	\$28,535.48	\$2,428.61	\$972.07	.....	\$500.00	\$32,436.16
1912.....	18,753.45	2,268.47	1,496.32	\$3,115.75	.....	25,633.99
1913.....	36,523.10	5,633.04	2,648.71	6,580.68	.....	51,385.53
1914.....	38,304.84	13,233.09	2,461.90	380.50	982.85	55,363.18
1915.....	40,908.88	4,258.93	5,900.83	6,670.73	18,442.91	76,182.28
1916.....	38,498.51	3,976.73	5,606.77	8,183.53	178.72	56,444.26
1917.....	38,184.53	7,702.13	5,570.18	8,695.47	665.34	60,817.65
Totals.....	\$239,708.79	\$39,501.00	\$24,656.78	\$33,626.66	\$20,769.82	\$358,263.05

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 25.

## DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Fiscal year	Salaries and expenses, including foreign organization	Subventions to societies and periodicals	International visits	Publications	Propaganda	Total
1911.....	\$1,622.16	\$41,000.00	\$14,100.00	.....	\$10,258.89	\$66,981.05
1912.....	16,945.91	59,015.49	464.16	.....	69,049.75	145,475.31
1913.....	24,200.08	108,326.42	19,575.79	.....	68,080.50	220,182.79
1914.....	26,084.80	121,358.62	36,490.27	\$8,103.32	61,677.68	253,714.69
1915.....	31,010.33	99,814.96	24,048.93	11,027.13	88,447.11	254,348.46
1916.....	31,605.86	79,826.85	10,297.83	8,557.70	170,895.06	301,183.30
1917.....	24,452.62	108,461.16	16,900.88	829.53	79,479.19	230,123.38
Totals.....	\$155,921.76	\$617,803.50	\$121,877.86	\$28,517.68	\$547,888.18	\$1,472,008.98

## DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

Fiscal year	Salaries and expenses	Honoraria and expenses, Committee of Research	Research work	Publications	Special work	Total
1911.....	\$3,365.09	\$9,296.69	.....	.....	.....	\$12,661.78
1912.....	4,950.55	13,515.65	.....	.....	.....	18,466.20
1913.....	8,127.99	18,575.00	\$17,746.89	.....	.....	44,449.88
1914.....	8,453.84	27,314.81	33,666.36	\$1,240.18	\$389.40	71,064.59
1915.....	11,438.80	15,155.43	16,565.58	4,686.01	.....	47,845.82
1916.....	11,233.33	17,158.33	19,987.33	2,573.75	31,298.33	82,251.07
1917.....	9,604.65	17,000.00	8,034.79	5,412.23	404.88	40,456.55
Totals.....	\$57,174.25	\$118,015.91	\$96,000.95	\$13,912.17	\$32,092.61	\$317,195.89

## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Fiscal year	Salaries and expenses	Aid to societies, books and periodicals	Research work	Publications	Special educational activities	Total
1911.....	\$1,972.53	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,972.53
1912.....	3,135.00	\$3,084.71	\$1,625.00	.....	.....	7,844.71
1913.....	10,586.81	33,023.71	5,419.78	.....	\$1,031.06	50,061.36
1914.....	13,450.66	42,376.22	6,980.23	\$5,522.95	14,578.97	82,909.03
1915.....	10,688.19	22,789.30	9,584.09	12,578.29	7,796.95	63,436.82
1916.....	13,857.62	27,391.45	13,175.00	8,973.93	47,318.90	110,716.90
1917.....	11,215.57	37,277.24	6,423.01	72,523.05	16,086.12	143,524.99
Totals.....	\$64,906.38	\$165,942.63	\$43,207.11	\$99,598.22	\$86,812.00	\$460,466.34

## PURCHASE OF HEADQUARTERS BUILDINGS AND SITES

1913.....	\$54,475.00
1914.....	82,525.00
1917.....	47,000.00
Total.....	<u>\$184,000.00</u>

## RECAPITULATION

TABLE SHOWING EXPENDITURES BY FISCAL YEARS AND DIVISIONS

Fiscal year	Secretary's Office and General Ad- ministration	Division of Intercourse and Educa- tion	Division of Economics and History	Division of International Law	Purchase of headquarters buildings and sites	Total
1911.....	\$32,436.16	\$66,981.05	\$12,661.76	\$1,972.53	.....	\$114,051.52
1912.....	25,633.99	145,475.31	18,466.20	7,844.71	.....	197,420.21
1913.....	51,385.53	220,182.79	44,449.88	50,061.36	\$54,475.00	420,554.56
1914.....	55,363.18	253,714.69	71,064.59	82,909.03	82,525.00	545,576.49
1915.....	76,182.28	254,348.46	47,845.82	63,436.82	.....	441,813.38
1916.....	56,444.26	301,183.30	82,251.07	110,716.90	.....	550,595.53
1917.....	60,817.65	230,123.38	40,456.55	143,524.99	47,000.00	521,922.57
Totals....	\$358,263.05	\$1,472,008.98	\$317,195.89	\$460,466.34	\$184,000.00	\$2,791,934.26

TABLE SHOWING EXPENDITURES BY DIVISIONS AND GENERAL SUBJECTS

	Salaries and expenses	Subventions	Library and research work	Publications	Propaganda and miscel- laneous ac- tivities	Total
Secretary's Of- fice and Gen- eral Admin- istration....	\$279,209.79	.....	\$24,656.78	\$33,626.66	\$20,769.82	\$358,263.05
Division of In- tercourse and Education ..	155,921.76	\$617,803.50	.....	28,517.68	669,766.04	1,472,008.98
Division of Eco- nomics and History.....	57,174.25	.....	214,016.86	13,912.17	32,092.61	317,195.89
Division of In- ternational Law.....	64,906.38	165,942.63	43,207.11	99,598.22	86,812.00	460,466.34
	\$557,212.18	\$783,746.13	\$281,880.75	\$175,654.73	\$809,440.47	\$2,607,934.26
Purchase of headquarters buildings and sites .....						184,000.00
Total.....						<u>\$2,791,934.26</u>

Taking up the tables in the order of their appearance, the several classifications in them may be generally further explained as follows:

#### SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

*Salaries and expenses:* This column contains the salaries of the official and clerical forces of the headquarters establishment, the traveling expenses of administrative officers and Trustees, the cost of furniture and equipment, stationery and office sundries, postage, freight and express, printing, telegrams and telephone service.

*Maintenance of headquarters:* This includes the cost of upkeep, such as janitor service, fuel and lighting, taxes, insurance, improvements and repairs.

*Library:* This includes the purchase of books, subscriptions to periodicals and for the last three years the salaries of the Librarian and Assistant.

*Year Book:* This column is made up exclusively of the costs of printing, publishing and distributing the Year Book, containing the official reports of the Endowment to the public, which now goes to a selected list containing about 10,000 names.

*Miscellaneous:* The small amounts entered in this column are for expenditures in the Secretary's office which may not be properly classified under the other headings. It includes fees paid for legal services in connection with the organization of the Endowment and the purchase of its property, honoraria paid for designs for a seal, exchange on remittances, the purchase of a bust of Mr. Carnegie and the printing and distribution of one of his speeches. Over \$17,000 of the amount entered in this column for the year 1915 was expended for the printing and distribution of the public statement regarding the Endowment's attitude after the outbreak of the present war, signed by twenty-five members of the Board and issued over their signatures on February 16, 1915.

#### DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

*Salaries and expenses:* This column includes the salaries and expenses of running the office of the Division in New York City and the European Bureau and Secretariat at Paris, including items similar to those enumerated under this head in the Secretary's office, and the salaries of special correspondents in foreign capitals of Europe and Asia.

*Subventions:* This column contains the amounts which have been paid over to other organizations in aid and support of their work in behalf of international peace, including sums paid to a few of the leading periodicals published in the interest of international peace.

*International visits:* These figures represent the amounts expended by the Endowment in behalf of international conciliation by sending prominent Americans to visit foreign countries, bringing eminent foreigners to the United States, and entertaining those who may be regarded as distinguished guests of the public.

*Publications:* This column represents the amounts expended in preparing, printing and distributing the publications issued under the imprint of the Division.

*Propaganda:* Under this head are included all expenses incurred in general propaganda work, such as the distribution of pamphlets and books, the giving of lectures, the publication of articles in newspapers and magazines, the supplying of literature to persons and organizations, and aid to educational institutions in maintaining courses designed to improve international intercourse.

## DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

*Salaries and expenses:* These figures represent the cost of maintaining the office of the Division in New York City.

*Honoraria and expenses of Committee of Research:* The annual honoraria paid to the members of the Committee of Research residing in the principal cities of Europe and Asia, together with the expenses of two conferences held by the committee, are included in this column.

*Research work:* The amounts expended in carrying on the researches planned by and under the supervision of the Committee of Research are enumerated under this heading. The figures also include amounts expended since the beginning of the war in the collection of material for an economic history of the war.

*Publications:* These figures represent the amount spent for printing the publications containing the results of the research work.

*Special work:* The small amounts entered in this column represent miscellaneous items not properly chargeable under other headings. The large amount entered for the year 1916 is made up almost entirely of the amount expended by the Division for bringing guests available for its work to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress.

## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

*Salaries and expenses:* The salaries and expenses of maintaining the Division of International Law at Washington are kept separately from those of the headquarters and have been entered in this column.

*Aid to societies, books and periodicals:* The amounts shown here have been paid in support of the work of a few societies whose purposes coincide with the objects of the Division, to journals devoted to the development of international law, to individuals or publishers in aid of the publication of books upon international law or related subjects of a scientific character which their authors are unable to publish and which are not attractive as commercial undertakings.

*Research work:* The expenses incurred by the Division in collecting documents and information regarding arbitrations, treaties, judicial decisions, official statements, and other documents of value in international law have been entered in this column.

*Publications:* This column contains the amount spent in publishing the series of works issued by the Division. The considerable increase in this expense for the year 1917 is largely made up of the expenditures incurred in taking over and publishing the Classics of International Law, theretofore published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

*Special educational activities:* Under this heading have been included such items as the expenses of foreign publicists invited to the United States to lecture upon international law before colleges, universities and professional conferences, aid in the establishment of an Academy of International Law at The Hague, the expenses of the Conference of American Teachers of International Law, the award of Fellowships of International Law, the bringing of international lawyers to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, and the distribution of the American diplomatic correspondence relating to neutral rights and commerce.



The full details of all of the foregoing activities have been given from time to time in the annual reports to the Trustees and subsequently published in the Endowment's Year Books.

As bearing upon the relative amount of activity of the Endowment before and after the outbreak of the present war, the above summaries show that the Endowment did not reach what may be regarded as a fairly complete year of activity until 1913, when the expenditures, exclusive of the amount invested in the headquarters buildings, amounted to some \$366,000. The following year, which was the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the European War, the expenditures, exclusive of the sum invested in headquarters buildings, amounted to some \$463,000. This average for general work has been maintained for each succeeding year. The large increase shown for the year 1916 is due entirely to the expenditure of over \$100,000 in aid of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, which expenditure was distributed among the three Divisions. The considerable increase in the expenditures for the year 1917 is due to the purchase of an additional headquarters building for the sum of \$47,000.

For reasons explained in the Secretary's report last year the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education and of the Division of Economics and History has been to some extent curtailed by the war and the expenditures under these headings show an average decrease, while the work of the Division of International Law has been accelerated by the war and the expenditures under this heading show a steady increase. The stoppage of the work of the two former Divisions in Europe would have resulted in a much greater decrease in expenditures had not a large part of their funds been devoted to work in North and South America.

### **Appropriation for Sundry Purposes**

Heretofore the Board of Trustees has voted a separate appropriation for the Library and the Year Book. These appropriations were several years ago segregated from the general appropriation for the Secretary's office as they were not considered to be properly chargeable under that heading. The Secretary now recommends a further separation of certain sundry activities which are performed under his supervision for the sake of unity and coordination in the work common to the three Divisions or because they are of such a miscellaneous character that they are not properly assignable to any of the Divisions. They are nevertheless a part of the Endowment's general work, separate and distinct from the work of an administrative character. These items, have, therefore, been included in the separate appropriation heretofore made for the Library and the Year Book, the title of which has been changed to that of Appropriation for Sundry Purposes to suit the new use for which it is intended.

### Library and Information Bureau

As was the expectation of the Trustees when the Library was originally founded, it is rapidly developing into one of the most useful offices in connection with the work of the Endowment, and as a resort of the public for trustworthy information which in many cases the Endowment alone can supply. The requests from the outside for information and for the use of the Endowment's facilities come from both private and official sources. Since the United States entered the war, constant use has been made of the Library by the experts and writers of the Committee on Public Information, whose office adjoins the Endowment's headquarters and extends into one of its buildings, for the preparation of its extensive series of pamphlets and documents. Tables and other facilities have been placed at their disposal, and it has been said that the Committee has found this Library better equipped and more generally useful for their special line of work than any other library available in Washington. The Institute of Government Research makes regular use of the Library, and, for certain kinds of information, it now takes the place of the library of the Department of State which has been closed to the public. During the year the collaborators of the Division of Economics and History engaged in making preliminary studies of the war have continuously used the Library and called upon it to obtain material in connection with their work.

During the year ended March 1, 1918, 2,500 books and pamphlets were added to the Library. These make a total of 13,500 books properly accessioned, besides about 1,000 pamphlets which are accessible, being catalogued and shelved, but not yet in the Accession Book owing to the lack of assistance. The shelves are crowded and the giving up of the rooms in No. 6 Jackson Place, referred to elsewhere, has made it necessary to rearrange the space for shelving, which awaits the completion of improvements in two rooms in another building.

The fund for the accession of books and publications for the next year may be decreased by \$500, but it is recommended that this amount be retained in the Library fund for the distribution of Congressional Library cards cataloguing all of the Endowment's publications. It is proposed to furnish these cards to American libraries of 20,000 volumes and over not on the Endowment's depository list. The cards will contain a notation giving the nearest library in which the Endowment's publications are deposited. These notations will be made in the Library and the cards will be sent only to such libraries as indicate, in reply to letters addressed to them, that they will be glad to receive the cards and make proper use of them. The distribution of these cards will place in the catalogs of 500 additional libraries complete information concerning the Endowment's publications, at a very nominal cost and indicate where the reader may find the publications for consultation.

The description "Information Bureau" has been added to the title of the Library so that the name may properly describe the exact functions that this

office now performs. This change in name is along the lines of the recommendation made by the Secretary last year for the establishment of a bureau of information. Instead of providing for a separate office, the Secretary believes it will be more economical to obtain an assistant to help out with the general library work, so as to give the Librarian more time to answer the many calls upon her for information, and to enable her to devote as much time as possible to her work for the government, above referred to.

It is conservatively estimated that the work of the Library has doubled during the past year, while the force has remained the same. The work now undertaken for the government makes it necessary that additional assistance be granted by the Trustees. During the continuance of the present conditions, it is of prime importance that the Library force respond to the increasing demands of the public, not only because of the obligation imposed by the terms of the Endowment's trust to furnish authentic information, but in order to present tangible evidence of the public usefulness of the Endowment itself. To respond to the present demands, the force must be increased if the Library is to be conducted in an orderly and efficient manner.

### Bureau of Translation

In a previous report the Secretary has called attention to the importance attaching to the matter of translations in the Endowment's work,<sup>1</sup> principally in connection with the adoption of a definite policy regarding the issuance of the Endowment's publications in several languages. The question has received the consideration of the Executive Committee, which feels that the matter of issuing publications in foreign languages should be considered in connection with individual publications and, in pursuance of this decision, authorizations have been given from time to time for foreign editions of certain publications.

The Secretary has likewise called attention to the importance of having a specially trained corps to prepare and make uniform all of the translations issued under the supervision of the several offices of the Endowment. For several years this work of translating has been underequipped, and the one translator regularly employed has been unable to secure adequate clerical help owing to the demands of more important work upon the regular clerical force.

The time seems to be now at hand when this condition should be remedied. During the past year the Endowment has been called upon by the Department of State to prepare English translations of the complete proceedings of the First and Second Hague Conferences. The enormity of this task is shown in the report of the Director of the Division of International Law dealing with this subject. The request of the State Department was made pursuant to the offer of the Endowment's services to the government by resolution of the Board of Trustees at its last annual meeting, and was accordingly promptly complied with and the work of translating is now in progress.

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, pages 32 and 34.

Outside of the one translator who is carried on the Endowment's rolls, the only force capable of assisting in making these translations is the personnel of the Division of International Law. It is not believed advisable to utilize the expert services of the personnel of this office as a translating force, and indeed this would not be practicable without laying aside all other work in the Division. The Secretary, therefore, recommends that there be established a translating bureau, properly equipped with expert translators and a separate clerical force, in which will be prepared all translations necessary in the prosecution of the Endowment's work or made in compliance with the request of the government. To this bureau will be transferred the present translator in the Secretary's office and one clerk from the Division of International Law especially equipped for making technical translations. Additional translators and clerks to take care of the present unusually large demand for translations have been provided under a separate heading.

### The Endowment Year Book

The Secretary regards the Year Book of the Endowment as an effective form of its propaganda work. It gives the reader a complete record of the work the Endowment is doing, and enables him to measure its progress from year to year. It is important that complete files of the Year Book shall be preserved in many of the lesser libraries, not on the Depository List, and the Secretary is increasing the number of copies annually distributed to these institutions. Letters are constantly received, asking to be supplied with missing issues not now in these libraries. The Endowment is here, as we believe, for an indefinite period of time; the number of large libraries is constantly growing, and it is important that each of them shall have a complete file of its Year Book on its shelves. The following table indicates the total number of copies issued and the remainder now on hand for each of the six Year Books published:

	Edition	No. on hand
Year Book for 1911 .....	5,050	50
Year Book for 1912 .....	10,380	731
Year Book for 1913-14 .....	10,000	365
Year Book for 1915 (2 eds.) .....	12,000	919
Year Book for 1916 .....	12,000	275
Year Book for 1917 .....	10,000	520

In view of what is stated above, the Secretary recommends that the edition of the Year Book for 1918 be 10,000 copies, and that an allotment of \$8,000 be made for printing and distributing the same. This recommendation is based upon the increased cost of publication, the increased cost of postage and other methods of distribution, and the estimated increase in the number of pages in the Year Book for 1918.

At one of the early meetings of the Executive Committee, the Secretary proposed that a copy of the Year Book be sent each year to each of the 2,500 Carnegie libraries in the United States and Canada. The proposition was not

approved, on the ground that a more selective method of distribution should be adopted, as has been done. In consequence, the proportion of these libraries which now receive it is comparatively small, and in the judgment of the Secretary should be somewhat enlarged.

### Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie

The Executive Committee has authorized the Secretary to compile and publish a Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie, and the preparation of the material is in progress.

No such manual now exists. The public has a very inadequate understanding of the extent of these benefactions; of the amount of their endowments and the limitations upon the expenditure of their incomes; of the great importance of the public purposes to which they are dedicated; of their methods of promoting these ends; of the personnel of their organizations, their charters, by-laws, publications, etc.

The introductory descriptive note for each institution will be prepared by its chief administrative officer. They will include the following, in the order in which they were founded:

1. Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh
2. Carnegie Institution of Washington
3. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
4. Carnegie Hero Funds of the several countries: United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Italy
5. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
6. Carnegie United Kingdom Trust
7. Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland
8. Carnegie Dunfermline Trust
9. United Engineering Society of New York
10. Church Peace Union.
11. Carnegie Corporation of New York

The manual will indicate with reference to each of the institutions the date of foundation, historical sketch, the officers and trustees from the beginning, extracts from the charter, the purposes of the endowment, finances, departments of research and their personnel, the buildings and laboratories, with illustrations, condensed bibliography of publications.

The manual will include summary statements regarding the public libraries built by Mr. Carnegie, and summaries of his donations for other specific purposes. Many of the library buildings are architectural monuments of exceptional beauty and dignity, of which illustrations will be given. Other illustrations will include Mr. Carnegie's Peace Palace at The Hague, the Central American Peace Palace, the Pan American Union Building in Washington, the New York Engineers' Building, etc.

The volume will include a summary statement of the total amount of Mr.

Carnegie's donations for public, scientific and benevolent purposes, and will conclude with a concise bibliography of Mr. Carnegie's published books and miscellaneous writings.

### The Depository Libraries

The establishment of the Depository Library system is proving a complete success. The librarians of nearly all the libraries have expressed appreciation for the inclusion of their institutions in the list and all of them have agreed properly to shelve, catalogue, and make the publications freely accessible to all readers.

The list of these Depository Libraries as published in the Year Book for 1917 has been slightly modified; some institutions whose responses to inquiries were not satisfactory having been eliminated and others added by the Executive Committee. The geographical distribution of these libraries is shown in the following table:

#### UNITED STATES:

Alabama.....	4
Arizona.....	2
Arkansas.....	1
California.....	11
Colorado.....	5
Connecticut.....	8
Delaware.....	2
District of Columbia.....	13
Florida.....	4
Georgia.....	5
Hawaii.....	1
Idaho.....	4
Illinois.....	15
Indiana.....	12
Iowa.....	12
Kansas.....	10
Kentucky.....	5
Louisiana.....	4
Maine.....	7
Maryland.....	8
Massachusetts.....	25
Michigan.....	7
Minnesota.....	10
Mississippi.....	1
Missouri.....	11
Montana.....	4
Nebraska.....	4
Nevada.....	3
New Hampshire.....	6
New Jersey.....	9
New Mexico.....	2
New York.....	28
North Carolina.....	5
North Dakota.....	3
Ohio.....	14
Oklahoma.....	3
Oregon.....	4
Pennsylvania.....	19

Philippine Islands.....	2
Porto Rico.....	1
Rhode Island.....	7
South Carolina.....	2
South Dakota.....	5
Tennessee.....	6
Texas.....	9
Utah.....	4
Vermont.....	4
Virginia.....	8
Washington.....	7
West Virginia.....	4
Wisconsin.....	7
Wyoming.....	1

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#### SOUTH AMERICA:

Argentina.....	13
Bolivia.....	2
Brazil.....	7
Chile.....	4
Colombia.....	4
Ecuador.....	2
Paraguay.....	1
Peru.....	3
Uruguay.....	2
Venezuela.....	2

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#### CENTRAL AMERICA:

Costa Rica.....	3
Cuba.....	2
Guatemala.....	1
Honduras.....	2
Mexico.....	4
Nicaragua.....	1
Salvador.....	1

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## OTHER COUNTRIES:

Austria.....	9	Germany.....	41
Belgium.....	6	Greece.....	1
British Empire:		Holland.....	7
England.....	19	Hungary.....	2
Australia.....	5	Italy.....	22
Canada.....	13	Japan.....	4
India.....	3	Norway.....	2
Ireland.....	2	Portugal.....	1
New Zealand.....	2	Roumania.....	2
Scotland.....	6	Russia.....	10
South Africa.....	4	Serbia.....	1
Tasmania.....	1	Spain.....	11
Wales.....	3	Sweden.....	4
Bulgaria.....	1	Switzerland.....	8
China.....	5	Syria.....	1
Denmark.....	1	Turkey.....	2
Egypt.....	1		
Finland.....	1		221
France.....	20	Total.....	633

The Depository List appears at page 221 of this Year Book.

The Secretary is convinced that this method of distribution is permanently effective for practical results. It makes these publications accessible to much larger groups of readers than could be reached in any other way, and it insures their *permanent* use in educational institutions where they will always be available. This is an important consideration, in view of the expensive character of many of these publications, and the limited editions published.

It should be added that it has not seemed wise or possible, in view of war conditions, to supply the European foreign libraries on the Depository List with the publications of the Endowment. They have been sent to South and Central American libraries, to Great Britain and her colonial possessions, and to the Far East. The Depository Libraries in the belligerent nations of Europe will be cared for as soon as normal transportation conditions are restored.

### The List of Publications

The list of the publications of the Endowment is now reprinted quarterly, in order that it may be kept closely up to date. Experience has developed several important uses for this pamphlet. Each print is sent to each of the Depository Libraries, to enable them to keep careful check upon the publications received, and make sure that their library has them all. It is sent to a large number of other libraries, in order that they may send for the gratuitously published books and pamphlets, if they desire to possess them. It is inserted in every copy of every publication sent out from the Secretary's office, and in every response to letters asking for any particular publication. It is widely used by the Directors of the three Divisions, for the same purpose. It is distributed to many newspapers and to many booksellers. To supply these various needs, an edition of 6,000 copies was printed of the issue dated February, 1918.

As an advertisement of the work the Endowment is doing, the Secretary regards this as the most economical and the most effective plan that can be devised; and results already demonstrate its practical value for this purpose. It is a substitute for the cruder methods of obtaining publicity devised in the earlier days of the Endowment. These methods involved the accumulation of an indefinite number of addresses of persons assumed to be or purporting to be interested in the purposes for the promotion of which the Endowment exists. By a conservative estimate, there are now on these mailing lists, which are in card form, no less than 50,000 addresses, chiefly in the United States, but including every country on the globe. By natural attrition, after the lapse of seven years, hundreds of these addresses have become obsolete, and it is no longer possible to make use of them without waste. The impracticability of making a general use of such a large miscellaneous mailing list is shown by the fact that very few of the publications are issued in larger editions than 2,000.

The whole mailing list has therefore received during the year a thorough overhauling, and a plan devised at the beginning has been carried out. It involves the segregation of the lists into groups, in keeping with the special interest of each addressee. Thus there are special lists for each of the three Divisions of the Endowment and a composite list, including persons known to be interested in all phases of Endowment work and entitled to receive all of its free publications.

### Printing

It is not the purpose of the Secretary at present to dwell at length upon this interesting topic. But he directs attention to the fact that by far the largest regular item of expense in connection with the work of the Secretary's office is for printing. He has referred in previous reports to the fact that the Endowment through the Clarendon Press of Oxford, the American Branch of the Oxford University Press, and its printers in Washington, has become a very large publishing house. More and more, as time passes, this will become increasingly the case, and it involves certain problems to which the Secretary calls especial attention.

The situation has been rendered acute by the work connected with the series of Preliminary Economic Studies on the Effects of the European War, undertaken by the Division of Economics and History, under the direction of Dr. David Kinley of its Committee of Research. It was necessary to organize and carry forward this work in the office of the Secretary, in order that the collaborators might have the necessary clerical assistance, and immediate access to the library of the Endowment and the Congressional Library, both of which have specialized in private and official publications relating to the European War. It is probable that no other city in the United States approaches Washington in the volume of printed material on all phases of the war, which is collected in these two libraries, and in the departmental libraries of the government. At one



time eight of these collaborators were furnished desk room and all other facilities in the Secretary's office, while engaged in the preparation and transcription of their work. All their "copy" as received had to be prepared for the printer and proofread and indexed in the Secretary's office. Upon a statement of the situation, the Executive Committee authorized the appointment of an expert to assist in this work, and very satisfactory results have followed. It is important that this expert assistance be continued in the future, for the matter involves the question of standardization in the typographical form of the Endowment publications. The unification of style, in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, etc., is an essential in modern printing, and it can only be secured by placing the output under trained, competent and scholarly supervision. To further systematize this work, the Secretary has charged the Assistant Secretary with the entire responsibility for the printing of the Endowment.

As the printing bills of the Endowment continue to grow, it becomes a matter of careful consideration whether a separate appropriation for printing, to cover the requirements of all the Divisions of the Endowment should not be voted, in the interest both of economy and good administration. This course has been found advantageous in the case of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

In this connection, the Secretary again directs attention to the very marked increase in all items connected with printing. He has obtained detailed figures from the printers, which show that the prices of paper have increased from 50 to 100 per cent, according to quality; that binding has increased 25 per cent, and labor, 25 per cent or more.

### Distribution of Endowment Publications

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on March 2, the Secretary submitted a report on the subject of the distribution of the Endowment publications, and made recommendations involving a radical change in the policy which has been pursued heretofore in this distribution. This important matter has been discussed at length in previous reports of the Secretary, and particularly in his report for 1916. (See Year Book, 1916, page 33.) The Secretary again called attention to the fact that the Endowment is largely organized, first, for the purpose of conducting investigations, collecting material, and publishing the results thereof, and, secondly, for utilizing these results in definite propaganda in behalf of the Endowment's objects. The Executive Committee has always been liberal in allotting funds for these investigations and studies, and for the publication of these results; but in the matter of making effective use of the volumes thus printed, apart from the copies distributed to the Depository Libraries, the work of definite propaganda is largely turned over to the publishers. The contract with the Clarendon Press of Oxford and its American branch is an admirable arrangement, so far as it goes, but in the matter of adequate distribution, it has not brought the results which the Endowment anticipated at the time it was made. The returns of the publishers demonstrate this. Many volumes upon which

thousands of dollars have been expended for costs of investigation, honoraria, editorial assistance and printing, are piling up rapidly in the storage rooms, where they do not subserve any useful purpose.

The printing and publishing contracts place a large part of the circulation of the Endowment's publications upon a commercial basis, and ignore the element of propaganda altogether, and the Secretary stated his conviction that to this extent the Endowment fails to meet the expectations of the public. In many instances the prices fixed are regarded as prohibitive by private individuals, professors, students, economists, lawyers and persons of limited means who may be profoundly interested in the subjects to which the publications relate, and who are compelled to purchase them, or resort to the Depository Libraries.

The Secretary's recommendations were (1) that steps be taken to readjust the publishers' contract in such manner as to give the Endowment complete control over the distribution of the volumes bearing its imprint, including the size of the editions, the prices to be charged for them, and the methods of distribution; and (2) that a competent person be employed, to be selected because of special qualifications and training in this highly specialized business, to be entrusted with the duty of studying and handling all details of the distribution of the Endowment's publications, and of making appropriate recommendations from time to time.

The Executive Committee considered the matter one of so much importance, that it postponed its consideration to a subsequent meeting, in the light of the details regarding the distribution and sale of the publications to date, which accompanied the Secretary's recommendation. These details are of a character to interest all the Trustees, and they are accordingly reproduced below. The total number of books distributed from the Secretary's office during the last fiscal year was 36,344, representing a total of 8,236,523 printed pages.

### DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

[These details are exclusive of all publications in pamphlet form]

(To December 31, 1917)

#### SECRETARY'S OFFICE

Name	Cost	Edition	Distributed gratis	On hand	Due Depository Libraries [Foreign]
Year Book 1911.....	\$2,856.00	5,050	5,000	50	.....
Year Book 1912.....	5,174.00	10,380	9,299	1,081	350
Year Book 1913-14.....	5,907.33	10,000	9,285	715	350
Year Book 1915.....	6,945.00	12,000	10,901	1,099	180
Year Book 1916.....	7,185.00	12,000	11,545	455	180
Year Book 1917.....	6,105.95	10,000	9,238	762	180
Total.....	\$34,173.28	59,430	55,248	4,162	1,240

## DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Name	Cost	Edition	Distributed gratis	On hand	Due Depository Libraries
Some Roads towards Peace...	\$3,435.00	25,000	24,479	521	...
Balkan Report.....	9,026.93	12,643	12,533	90	...
For Better Relations, South American Neighbors, English.....	1,888.45	2,500	2,497	3	...
The same in Spanish, Portuguese and French.....	2,318.26	2,500	2,427	73	...
The same in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French....	1,015.84	1,000	19	481	354
Total.....	\$17,684.49	43,643	41,975	1,168	354

## DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

Name	Cost	Edition	Distribution			On hand	Due Depository Libraries
			Gratis	Sold	Proceeds		
Nationalism and War Printing...\$580.68 Manuscript 2043.93	\$2,624.61	1,286	492	472	\$717.81	322	222
Scandinavian Industries Printing...\$388.15 Manuscript 214.40							
Losses of Life Printing...\$557.13 Manuscript 1950.00	602.55	1,286	470	115	62.96	701	222
Epidemics Resulting from Wars Printing...\$781.07 Manuscript 952.00	2,507.13	1,015	442	218	159.12	355	222
Economic Protectionism Printing...\$897.30 Manuscript 771.40	1,733.07	1,015	450	232	211.68	333	222
Colonial Tariff Policy of France Printing...\$734.47 Manuscript 405.50	1,668.70	1,015	448	224	231.64	343	222
	1,139.97	1,015	468	194	177.00	353	222
Total.....	\$10,276.03	6,632	2,770	1,455	\$1,560.21	2,407	1,332

## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Name	Cost	Edition	Distribution			On hand	Due Depository Libraries
			Gratis	Sold	Proceeds		
Hague Conventions...	\$3,251.32	4,000	2,580	673	\$356.56	747	296
Hague Conventions, Spanish.....	1,381.68	1,000	176	6	3.68	818	354
International Court of Justice.....	1,025.50	1,865	497	54	30.64	1,314	296
Status of International Court of Justice...	1,048.50	2,058	516	65	38.22	1,477	296
Freedom of the Seas...	2,227.50	3,541	1,945	154	113.72	1,415	296
Ladd's Essay.....	1,264.00	1,807	518	78	47.16	1,211	386
Resolutions.....	2,215.80	2,000	503	187	128.52	1,310	305
Diplomatic Correspondence.....	5,079.83	1,650	450	150	429.60	1,060	371
Instructions.....	1,036.80	2,025	784	30	16.43	1,211	342
Recommendations on International Law..	700.00	2,025	728	49	18.71	1,223	342
Hague Court Reports..	5,801.50	2,000	739	52	77.25	1,209	342
Controversy over Neutral Rights....	2,343.50	2,032	491	6	8.82	1,535	232
Declaration of Independence.....	1,318.00	2,040	495	12	5.04	1,533	308
Recommendations of Habana.....	1,001.25	2,040	596	...	.....	1,444	306
Total.....	\$29,695.18	30,083	11,018	1,516	\$1,274.35	17,507	4,472

## CLASSICS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Name	Cost	Edition	Distributed gratis	On hand	Due Depository Libraries
Ayala.....	\$4,479.53	1,296	293	1,003	222
Rachel.....	4,476.88	1,369	293	1,076	222
Textor.....	4,853.39	1,397	332	1,065	222
Vattel.....	7,832.38	1,360	321	1,039	222
Victoria.....	5,435.12	1,750	555	1,195	260
Zouche.....	2,647.47	1,198	305	893	222
Total.....	\$29,724.77	8,370	2,099	6,271	1,370

## Purchase of No. 6 Jackson Place

Since the Secretary's last report, the Executive Committee has purchased the dwelling house No. 6 Jackson Place, for additional accommodations for the Endowment headquarters, the need for which, especially for storage purposes, and to properly provide for the Library, had become imperative. This building had just become vacated as a government office and had been placed on the

market, so that immediate action was necessary to secure it. The price paid was \$47,000. The building includes lots 1, 2 and 24, in square 167, and covers 2,936 square feet, with a frontage of 27 feet, 6 inches, on Jackson Place. It has been connected on three of its four floors with No. 2 and No. 4, and the three buildings are now heated by one central heating plant, located in No. 4, thus securing economy in fuel and labor. Some repairs were necessary in No. 6 to convert this old fashioned dwelling house into an office building.

The purchase of No. 6 provides all the office space the headquarters are likely to require until the Trustees shall decide that the time has arrived when it is wise to construct a new building as a permanent home. When that time comes, it will be agreed that the present location is ideally situated for that purpose. It is undoubtedly the most desirable property in Washington, outside that actually owned and occupied by the government. It faces Lafayette Park, the most beautiful of the smaller parks of Washington, has a frontage of 106 feet, 9 inches, on Pennsylvania Avenue, the principal street of the Capital City, and 83 feet on Jackson Place, making a total area of 8,856 square feet. It runs back to an alley in the rear, which is a great advantage, enabling the receipt and shipment of all freight from the rear, instead of from the Jackson Place front, as was necessary before the purchase of No. 6. The property fronts the White House and the State, War and Navy building on Pennsylvania Avenue. This latter proximity is of especial advantage, in view of the constant communication with the State Department which takes place.

In view of these advantages of location, the property has been secured at a low cost. No. 2, with a frontage on both streets, cost \$90,000; No. 4 cost \$47,000, and No. 6, \$47,000, making a total cost of \$184,000. Recent real estate sales in this locality indicate that the three lots have already a market value considerably greater than the sum paid for them. The Secretary enters into these details here, in order that the Trustees may fully understand the situation in connection with any plans for the future.

### **Use of the Building by the Government**

No. 6 Jackson Place had no sooner been made ready for occupancy and a large portion of the library removed to its first floor, than a request was received from the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, which has headquarters at Nos. 8 and 10 Jackson Place, that the Endowment turn over portions of No. 6 for the use of that recently organized governmental bureau. So soon as this request could be acted upon by the Executive Committee, the first and third floors of the building were turned over to the Committee on Public Information, on October 20, 1917, without charge for rent, light or heat, and gratefully acknowledged. In response to a later request, the use of the Endowment Board Room in No. 2 was tendered, for the holding of Committee conferences. On December 9 another communication from the bureau referred to its rapidly growing work and requested that the whole of No. 6 be placed at its disposal.

This request was laid before the Executive Committee on January 11, 1918, and the Secretary was instructed to tender as much as could be spared of the remainder of the building. This transfer was effected on January 17, only the basement being retained for storage purposes.

In authorizing the transfer, the Committee made an allotment for remodeling the rear of the building No. 4, so that it would be available partially to accommodate the overflow from the library, and this has since been done. The Executive Committee has approved these requests from a sense of patriotic duty, and as another evidence of its desire to devote whatever of its facilities are available to the service of the government during the continuance of the war.

### **The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union**

The Assistant Secretary continues to act as the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. The fifteenth annual meeting of the Group was held in the Caucus Room of the House Office Building on February 25, 1918. At this meeting Honorable James L. Slayden of Texas was unanimously reelected President of the Group and all his fellow officers were also reelected, together with two additional members of the Executive Committee.

A resolution was adopted directing the President and Executive Secretary to prepare and forward a memorial to the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union, assuring the organization of the continued interest of the American Group in its objects and activities, and urging upon the Executive Council the necessity for an enlargement of its activities at the conclusion of the present war, and pledging its cooperation.

The President submitted a recommendation that the American Group adopt as a statement of its views regarding the principles which should prevail in the settlement following the war, the "Recommendations of Habana," approved at the Second Conference of the American Institute of International Law, held at Habana, Cuba, January 23, 1917, and the "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations," adopted at the First Conference of the American Institute, held in Washington, January 6, 1916. This motion was unanimously adopted.

Honorable Richard Bartholdt of St. Louis, the first President of the American Group, was present and made a brief address, in which he stated that in recently making his will, he had not failed to remember the Group.

For the first time since the organization of the American Group, the Executive Secretary has prepared a full record of its annual meeting, which is printed in pamphlet form and has been distributed to all members of the Congress of the United States, to the legislatures of the South and Central American republics, and sent in large quantity to Secretary General Lange at Christiania, for distribution to European parliaments.

### Addresses and Papers of Elihu Root

In his report for 1917, the Secretary called attention to the three volumes then published of the addresses of the Honorable Elihu Root, the President of the Endowment, and stated the circumstances connected with their publication. In the interval, the publication of this series has been completed by the Harvard University Press, and four additional volumes have been published, entitled, respectively, *Latin America and the United States*, containing the speeches made by Mr. Root during his mission to South America in 1906, primarily to attend the Third Conference of the American Republics at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Panama; on the occasion of his visit to Mexico in 1907 and his subsequent addresses in the United States on Latin American relations; the *North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague*, containing Mr. Root's argument in this famous arbitration; *Miscellaneous Addresses*, containing educational, historical, memorial and occasional addresses; and a seventh volume, which is in addition to the six originally contemplated, entitled *The United States and the War, the Mission to Russia, Political Addresses*. This volume includes the series of addresses made by Mr. Root prior to the entry of the United States into the war and his addresses subsequent to that event; and the series of speeches which he made in Russia as Ambassador Extraordinary and Chairman of the Special Diplomatic Mission sent to Russia to convey to the new republic the sympathy and cooperation of the United States. The last group of addresses in this volume contains selections from the series of political addresses made by Mr. Root during the political campaigns from 1904 down to and including 1916. These addresses epitomize from the Republican point of view the political history of the United States during this entire period, during which Mr. Root, as Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and United States Senator, was recognized as the official spokesman of his party.

These seven volumes are not publications of the Endowment. They have, however, been distributed by direction of the Executive Committee to the Trustees, as in the case with publications of other members of the Board. It is proper to say that if the reviews of them are to be trusted, they have already taken a unique place in the literature of the country. It is indeed an unusual occurrence for the public addresses of one of our statesmen to be presented in this complete form during his lifetime; and their publication as a whole is, it is believed, a distinct service to the present as well as to future generations.

### America's Message to the Russian People

It will interest the Trustees to learn that the Harvard University Press has also published a small volume entitled *America's Message to the Russian People*, which contains all Mr. Root's addresses in Russia, and about Russia since his return, and also the more noteworthy addresses made while in Russia

by Dr. John R. Mott of New York, Mr. James Duncan of Massachusetts, and Mr. Charles Edward Russell of New York, Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Russian Mission.

### **The Requirements for Appropriation**

The statement of the requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year accompanies this report in a separate print.

### **Reports of the Division Directors**

The Secretary submits in separate printed form the annual reports of the Directors of the three Divisions of the Endowment.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
*Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 20, 1918.*



DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND  
EDUCATION

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REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR



DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION  
REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

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TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Since the date of the last annual report the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education has been carried on along the familiar and well established lines that have been described and discussed in earlier reports. No new forms of undertaking have been attempted and none can profitably be attempted until the war is won by the Allies. The instruction of public opinion in this and other countries, the sympathetic cooperation with established effective agencies for the spread of accurate knowledge of international relations and international policies, and the cementing of those personal and national friendships which the war with all its separations has so greatly multiplied, have solely occupied the attention of the Division. To these purposes its resources have been exclusively devoted.

**The Conduct of the War**

At various times attention has been called both in the United States and elsewhere to the fact that the corporate name of the Endowment seemed to imply that the authority and influence of the organization were not in complete harmony with the policies and aspirations of the liberty-loving world. That there was no ground whatever for such an inference, those immediately associated with the work of the Endowment and those well informed as to its spirit and methods were well aware. In order, however, that all misinterpretation of this kind might be set promptly at rest the Trustees by unanimous vote at the annual meeting held at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20, 1917, adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

The Division of Intercourse and Education at once placed copies of this resolution in the hands of members of governments, leaders of public opinion, journalists and men and women in positions of influence throughout the world. The responses and expressions of appreciation were numerous and most gratifying. The publication of this resolution and its wide circulation were specially welcome to the correspondents and associates of the Endowment in Great Britain, in France and in Italy where there had been some criticism of the Endowment

based wholly upon the inference that an endowed organization for the promotion of international peace must of necessity be for peace at any price. It hardly needs repetition, however, that the international peace which the Carnegie Endowment aims through the years to promote is only that durable peace which shall rest upon the secure foundations of liberty and justice, and which shall not be that sham peace which is only another name for the tame submission of slaves to their master.

A few months later and despite the action of the Trustees and the wide publicity given to it throughout the world, rumors were renewed that the influence of the Endowment was not being whole-heartedly exerted in the prosecution of the war. These rumors had their origin in ignorance and perhaps even, in some cases, in malice. With these facts in mind the Executive Committee at a meeting held in New York on November 1, 1917, adopted a declaration reaffirming the text of the resolution of April 19-20, 1917, and adding a definite and precise application of the principles of that resolution to the immediate issues of the war. The full text of the declaration adopted by the Executive Committee is as follows:

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20 last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

In view of recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete, and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim.

To this declaration an even greater publicity was given than in the case of the earlier resolution adopted by the Trustees. As a result it is now hoped and confidently expected that the attitude of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace toward the prosecution of the war to a decisive victory will be no longer misunderstood or misstated anywhere. The fact that the Endowment

has placed its Division of International Law wholly at the service of the government and has devoted a large share of the space in its official headquarters at Washington to government uses, serves only to illustrate and to emphasize the loyal devotion and willing service of the Endowment as a whole. The following expressions of opinion from important correspondents are instructive and illuminating:

From M. L. de Montluc, member of the *Institut de Droit International*, to the Acting Director, December 6, 1917.

Thanks for sending the resolution of April 19-20, *viz.*, to prosecute war against the Imperial German Government to final victory. We must break the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power as you state. I quite agree with you.

From Dr. Edoardo Giretti, member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, to the Acting Director, November 6, 1917.

Je m'empresse de vous accuser réception de votre télégramme qui m'est arrivé ce matin.

Bien que les principaux journaux italiens aient déjà publié un résumé probablement emprunté aux journaux anglais et français de la délibération votée par le Comité Exécutif du Carnegie Endowment, j'ai de suite préparé une traduction de votre message que je communique à l'Agence télégraphique Stefani et directement à quelques journaux de Rome, de Milan et de Turin qui ont une large circulation.

J'espère ainsi que toute la presse italienne pourra reproduire le texte intégral de votre délibération, à un moment où il est réconfortant de se sentir en solidarité cordiale et complète avec nos puissants et généreux Alliés d'Amérique pour supporter la rude épreuve de l'invasion ennemie sur le territoire italien.<sup>1</sup>

From Dr. Christian L. Lange, Secretary General of the *Union Interparlementaire*, to the Acting Director, November 12, 1917.

I received your long wire of November 4, giving the text of the resolution of your Executive Committee, on the 6th, and immediately took steps to have this document published in the press in order to secure so wide a publicity as possible.

Let me first express my concurrence in your views as far as it goes. I am of opinion that military defeat will be necessary in order to obtain, as you say, the sapping of "the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instru-

<sup>1</sup> I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram which reached me this morning.

Although the principal Italian newspapers have already published a summary, probably borrowed from the English and French press, of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, I immediately translated your message which I am forwarding to the Stefani telegraphic agency, and handing it directly to some newspapers of Rome, Milan and Turin that have a large circulation.

I hope that in this way the whole Italian press may reproduce the full text of your resolution, at a time when it is comforting to feel that we are in cordial and complete solidarity with our powerful and generous American allies, so that we may bear the rude test of the enemy invasion of Italian territory.

ment of international policy." But I am far from thinking that military defeat is the *only* means of reaching this object. In fact, the Executive Committee seem to me to go far beyond the declaration of the Trustees, in which the prosecution of the war is spoken of as the "*most* effectual means of promoting durable peace," that is to say: it is *not* the *only* one. The Executive Committee, on the other hand, say: "This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can *only* be broken by defeat." To this utterance I am obliged to take exception. If ever it was true, it is in this case: that one thing is to be done, the other not to be neglected. Our fight for durable peace has to progress on two distinct lines.

There are two Germanys: one—the military, oligarchical, Prussian Germany—is to be defeated by military means, the other—democratic, progressive, pacific Germany—is to be supported as effectively as possible. It can only be supported from inside through appropriate means of propaganda, and from outside through the creation of international agencies co-operating with German groups as well as with groups in other countries, neutral or Allied. The exclusion of Germany from international work, the neglect of supporting the German elements working for a durable international peace, in other words: an exclusive military policy such as now advocated by the Executive Committee might weld all Germany together, or would at any rate render the military machine supreme to an extent hitherto unknown. The prosecution of this policy would confirm the chief thesis of the military party, that the whole world is pursuing the object of crushing Germany politically, economically and intellectually.

From Mr. H. Golay, of the *Bureau International de la Paix*, December 15, 1917.

I have received today your letter of November 16, 1917, with the inclosed printed letter which contains the declaration unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Endowment in New York, on November 1, 1917.

I have translated it at once into French and German and will forward it with a few words of introduction to the newspapers of French and German Switzerland. I shall send you a copy of every newspaper which republishes it. I say republish, because it has been published already a few weeks ago on the ground of a communication which has probably been made by one of your correspondents.

I avail myself of this opportunity for presenting to you and to President Butler the compliments of the season and tell you that I never was so intimately associated with the feelings of the Carnegie Endowment than just now. There is no peace possible without democracy and without liberty.

From Dr. Otfried Nippold, correspondent of the Division at Berne, Switzerland, to the Acting Director, November 6, 1917.

Im Anschluss an mein Schreiben vom 3. d. M. teile ich Ihnen mit, dass ich die Resolution der Carnegie-Stiftung, die Sie mir gekabelt haben, am 4. d. M. sofort an die hiesigen Telegraphen-Agenturen und an verschiedene Zeitungen überbracht habe und dass die Resolution gestern bereits in den meisten Zeitungen zum Abdruck gelangt ist. Ich füge als Muster die "Neue

Zürcher Zeitung" und den "Bund" bei, die in Deutschland in vielen tausenden von Exemplaren verbreitet sind.

Ich brauche Ihnen nicht zu sagen, dass ich mit der Resolution durchaus übereinstimme, da Sie dies aus meinen Berichten und Publikationen schon wissen.<sup>1</sup>

From Dr. Clay MacCauley, President of the American Peace Society of Japan to the Acting Director, January 19, 1918.

I have seen the resolution passed by your Endowment's Trustees, and confirmed November 1, last, by your Executive Committee, to which you add a call to all lovers of peace to assist in the prosecution of this war that has "peace for its aim." Here is our answer. Longing for international peace, as I do most earnestly, I can see the way to its possession only through victory for America and her allies, as conditions are now; that is, if the world is to have a peace that is at all worth the having, for free and aspiring men.

From General F. D. Légitime, former President of Haiti, member of the *Alliance Scientifique Universelle*, to the Acting Director, December 12, 1917.

Je m'empresse de vous accuser réception de votre lettre circulaire du 2 Novembre dernier par laquelle vous me faites l'honneur de m'informer de la déclaration adoptée à l'unanimité à la réunion du Conseil de Direction réuni à New-York le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre de cette année.

Comme membre de la dite institution je me dispose à l'aider par tous les moyens en mon pouvoir à atteindre le but qu'elle se propose.<sup>2</sup>

From Señor Rafael Guirola Duke, delegate to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, to the Acting Director, December 3, 1917.

I have had the pleasure of receiving your communication announcing your resolution at the annual meeting, declaring "that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States."

I applaud the resolution of the distinguished members of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and as a lover of democracy and universal peace it has my full support, and I will contribute and assist in every possible way to bring about the desirable end.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with my letter of the third instant, I immediately communicated the resolution of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which you cabled to me on the fourth instant, to the local telegraphic agencies and to various newspapers, and yesterday the resolution appeared in most of the newspapers. As samples of this news item, I enclose copies of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and the *Bund*, which have a circulation in Germany running into the thousands.

I hardly need tell you that I am in thorough sympathy with the resolution, for you know it through my reports and publications.

<sup>2</sup> I hasten to acknowledge your circular letter of November 2, ult., by which you do me the honor of acquainting me with the declaration adopted unanimously at the meeting of the Executive Committee in New York, November 1 of this year. As a member of the institution mentioned on this letter head I am preparing all the aid in my power to realize the proposed object.

From Honorable George B. Francis, Member of Congress from New York, to the Acting Director, November 17, 1917.

I have received a communication from you advising me of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace respecting the prosecution of the war as the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace.

I cordially agree with the necessity for a vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful end.

From Honorable M. Alexander, Governor of Idaho, to the Acting Director, November 20, 1917.

I am in receipt of the circular dated November 2, 1917, with the resolutions of the Executive Committee as adopted on April 19, and reaffirmed on November 1. This meets my hearty approval, and in my opinion is the only way a lasting peace and a democratic peace can be secured to the world.

From Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of Smithsonian Institution, to the Acting Director, November 22, 1917.

I thank you for sending me a copy of the Resolution passed by the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with accompanying comment.

It expresses my convictions, and I trust that all lovers of peace in America will put their shoulders to the wheel and aid in the effective prosecution of the war.

From Dr. Alexander C. Humphreys, President of Stevens Institute of Technology, to the Acting Director, November 17, 1917.

I am in receipt of the communication from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, dated November 2, 1917, and containing the resolution passed by the Trustees of the Endowment at the meeting on April 19-20, last.

I only wish that the resolution passed by your Trustees would be made a guiding and controlling principle until this war is ended.

From Dr. Henry C. King, President of Oberlin College, to the Acting Director, November 19, 1917.

I am very glad that the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have taken the action contained in the communication which has just come to hand. I can not doubt, myself, that they are thoroughly right in this pronouncement.

### **Appropriation for Reconstruction after the War**

It will be recalled that the Trustees at the annual meeting held in Washington, D. C., April 19-20, 1917, adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That, as an act of sympathy with the suffering which has fallen upon innocent and helpless noncombatants in the existing war, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars (\$500,000) be, and it is hereby, appro-



priated as a separate fund, to be expended by the Executive Committee as speedily as may be, to aid in the reconstruction of homes in the devastated portions of France, Belgium, Serbia or Russia.

The Division of Intercourse and Education at once communicated copies of this resolution by cable and also by letter to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other high officials of the several European governments, to the Secretary of State of the United States and to a selected list of individuals. Attention is invited to the following replies and acknowledgments which have been received by the Acting Director.

The Secretary of State of the United States to the Acting Director, May 5, 1917.

Please accept my thanks for your letter of April 26, 1917, enclosing copies of letters which you have sent to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of France, Russia, Belgium and Serbia, by direction of the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, quoting a resolution relative to the appropriation of \$500,000 to be expended by the Executive Committee "to aid in the reconstruction of homes in the devastated portions of France, Belgium, Serbia and Russia."

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia (Mr. Miliukov) to the Acting Director, April 23, 1917.

I congratulate Trustees Carnegie Endowment upon their resolution to help innocent and helpless noncombatants brought to misery by utmost neglect International Law by aggressive German militarism. We consider this resolution as a new token of common spirit of right and justice which decided all the democracies of the world to defeat the spirit of war in its very origin and in its last refuge.

The American Ambassador to Russia (Mr. Francis) to the Acting Director, July 5/18, 1917.

I have just received through the open mail your letter of April 26, enclosing copy of a communication addressed to His Excellency M. Miliukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs. I thank you for the copy of the letter and can not praise too highly the action of the Carnegie Endowment.

The French Ambassador at Washington (M. Jusserand) to the Acting Director, May 4, 1917.

Our Prime Minister, who has received your kind telegram concerning the vote by the Carnegie Endowment of \$500,000 for the reconstruction of destroyed homes, asks me to forward to you and to the Trustees the expression of the gratitude which the news will awaken in every French heart.

I enclose herewith a copy of Mr. Ribot's telegram, and adding my heartiest thanks to his, I beg you to believe me, etc.

(Enclosure)

PARIS, May 3, 1917.

La résolution des administrateurs de la dotation Carnegie de consacrer une somme de cinq cent mille dollars à la reconstruction des foyers dévastés émouvra profondément la nation française. Je vous prie, en son nom, d'accepter l'expression de sa plus vive gratitude.

Cette nouvelle manifestation de la bienfaisance américaine laissera dans tous les cœurs français le souvenir le plus reconnaissant, en associant votre noble pays à la reconstitution pour chaque famille de la maison natale.<sup>1</sup>

RIBOT.

The French Ambassador (M. Jusserand) to the Secretary, May 6, 1917.

A telegram of Mr. Murray Butler has informed my government of the decision of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to set apart a sum of \$500,000 for helping in the reconstruction of destroyed homes in the Allied countries.

I am instructed to convey to you the expression of the gratitude of the government and citizens of the French Republic for the offer of a help inspired by sentiments of the truest brotherhood—*fraternité*—one and not the least of the three words composing our Republic's motto.

In case the Carnegie Endowment might need information about the situation of the regions of France abandoned of late and carefully devastated by the Germans, it might secure it by applying to Mr. Bluzes, "Directeur du Service de reconstruction des régions envahies, Ministère de l'Intérieur," Paris.

I beg you to be so good as to convey our heartiest thanks to the Trustees and to believe me, etc.

The Prime Minister of Greece (Mr. Venizelos) to the Acting Director, April 20, 1917.

Très sensible à vos bonnes salutations. Suis heureux voir comité grec-américain placé sous votre haute autorité, grâce à qui pouvons espérer, dans notre lutte, puissant appui monde intellectuel américain pour assurer en Grèce, avec rétablissement nos libertés violées, triomphe définitif idées démocratiques.<sup>2</sup>

The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Baron Beyens) to the Acting Director, May 24, 1917.

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre du 26 avril dernier, par laquelle vous avez bien voulu me faire savoir que les *Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* ont décidé, au cours de leur assemblée annuelle du 19 avril 1917, de consacrer une somme de 500 mille dollars à la reconstruction des habitations dans les régions de pays alliés dévastées par les événements de la guerre.

Je m'empresse de vous exprimer, Monsieur le Directeur, ainsi qu'aux membres de votre Conseil d'Administration, les plus vifs remerciements du

<sup>1</sup> The resolution of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to devote the sum of \$500,000 to the reconstruction of the devastated homes will deeply stir the French nation. In its name, I beg of you to accept the expression of its profound gratitude.

This new act of American benefaction will leave the most grateful memory in all French hearts, by associating your noble country with the reconstruction for each family of its natal home.

<sup>2</sup> Deeply affected by your kind greetings. Am happy to see the Greek-American Committee placed under your high authority, thanks to which we may hope, in our struggle, for the powerful support of the American intellectual circles, to insure in Greece, after our violated liberties shall have been reestablished, the definitive triumph of democratic ideas.

Gouvernement du Roi pour cet acte de grande générosité et ce magnifique témoignage de sympathie envers les malheureuses populations belges.

Le Gouvernement du Roi estime que la meilleure façon de réaliser le noble dessein du "Carnegie Endowment," consisterait à confier la dotation qui sera attribuée à la Belgique, à l'œuvre officielle intitulée "Fonds du Roi Albert" dont le but est précisément de pourvoir, à mesure que les circonstances le permettront, aux nécessités les plus immédiates de l'habitation dans les régions dévastées. Cette institution, créée par arrêté royal du 23 septembre 1916, dont le texte se trouve ci-joint, fonctionne sous le contrôle et la surveillance du Ministère de l'Intérieur et peut recevoir des dons et des legs.

Elle est donc toute désignée pour recevoir la part que le Comité exécutif voudra bien attribuer à la Belgique dans la généreuse dotation qu'il a affectée à l'œuvre belle entre toutes de la reconstruction des habitations des populations sans abri: Le Comité exécutif viendrait ainsi opportunément en aide au Fonds du Roi Albert, que le manque de moyens financiers suffisants entrave dans sa première activité.

Je vous serais extrêmement reconnaissant, Monsieur le Directeur, de vouloir bien faire part de cette proposition au Comité exécutif et me faire connaître la décision qu'il prendra à ce sujet.<sup>1</sup>

The President of the Council of France (M. Painlevé) to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, President of the Advisory Council in Europe, May 4, 1917.

J'ai reçu avec un vif plaisir la copie du câblogramme que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser et par lequel vous étiez chargé de faire connaître au Gouvernement Français que la dotation Carnegie a décidé de consacrer 500,000 dollars à la reconstitution des foyers des populations non combattantes des pays envahis.

Je n'ai pas manqué de communiquer aussitôt cette nouvelle à mon collègue M. Léon Bourgeois, Ministre du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Président du Comité Interministériel des régions envahies.

<sup>1</sup> I have had the honor to receive the letter of April 26, ult., by which you were good enough to make known to me that in the course of their annual meeting, April 19, 1917, the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace resolved to devote the sum of \$500,000 to the reconstruction of the dwellings in the regions of Allied countries devastated by the events of the war.

I hasten to express to you personally, and also to the members of your Board, the heartfelt thanks of the Government of the King, for this act of great generosity and this magnificent testimony of sympathy toward the unfortunate Belgian populations.

The Government of the King believes that the best way to realize the noble purpose of the Carnegie Endowment, would be to convey the portion apportioned to Belgium, to the official institution *Fonds du Roi Albert*, whose object it is, as circumstances may permit, to provide for the most immediate necessities of the people in the devastated regions. This institution was created by royal decree of September 23, 1916, the text of which is annexed hereto, and operates under the control and the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, and may receive gifts and bequests.

This institution is, therefore, quite appropriate to receive the share that the Executive Committee may decide to apportion to Belgium, in the generous gift it has voted for the finest of all purposes: the reconstruction of the dwellings of the populations without shelter. The Executive Committee would in this way come opportunely to the assistance of the *Fonds du Roi Albert*, which, because of a want of sufficient financial means, is hindered in its initial activities.

I should be extremely grateful to you, if you would be kind enough to communicate this proposition to the Executive Committee and to inform me of the decision the Committee may take in this matter.

L'honorable Président doit vous adresser lui-même ses remerciements au nom du Comité, mais je tiens, dès maintenant, à vous demander d'exprimer à nos amis des Etats-Unis, mes sentiments bien reconnaissants, pour cet acte de générosité dont vous avez voulu me faire part.<sup>1</sup>

M. Léon Bourgeois, formerly President of the Council of France, to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, President of the Advisory Council in Europe, May 19, 1917.

J'ai été très heureux d'apprendre par vous le nouvel acte de générosité de nos amis des Etats-Unis et je vous en exprime mes bien vifs remerciements.

Voulez-vous être auprès d'eux l'interprète des sentiments reconnaissants du Comité interministériel et leur demander en même temps de vouloir bien nous faire connaître quelle est, selon l'esprit des donateurs, la part attribuée à la France. Cette indication est indispensable pour examiner dans quelles conditions la répartition pourra être faite.<sup>2</sup>

The American Ambassador to France (Mr. Sharp) to the Acting Director, May 11, 1917.

I hasten to acknowledge with most sincere thanks your kindness in mailing to me a copy of the letter which you have addressed to His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Government, by direction of the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

I am sure that the aid which you are so generously extending to the afflicted and homeless people in the devastated portions of France and the other invaded Allied countries will be very much appreciated. From a personal contact with the condition of many of these people in the north-eastern portion of this country, I feel that no more worthy purpose could be served than administering to their needs in the manner outlined in the resolution, a copy of which I find enclosed in your letter.

M. Emile Boutroux of the *Académie Française* to the Acting Director, May 20, 1917.

M. Boutroux begs to thank most heartily the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for the most noble and generous way

<sup>1</sup> With great pleasure I have received the copy of the cablegram you were good enough to send me and by which you were directed to make known to the French Government that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had decided to devote \$500,000 to the reconstruction of the homes of the noncombatant populations of the invaded countries.

I communicated this news at once to my colleague, Mr. Léon Bourgeois, Minister of Labor and of Social Foresight, President of the Interministerial Committee of the invaded regions.

The Honorable President will himself, in the name of the Committee, send you his thanks, but even now, I desire that you express to our friends in the United States, my gratitude for this act of generosity of which you were kind enough to notify me.

<sup>2</sup> I was very happy to learn through you of the new act of generosity of our friends in the United States, and I wish to express to you my heartfelt thanks.

I wish you would be kind enough to express to them the grateful sentiments of the Interministerial Committee, and to ask them at the same time to be good enough to inform us what, according to the mind of the givers, will be the share allotted to France. This information is indispensable, in order that we may determine under what conditions the distribution may be made.

in which they acted as champion of justice and liberty and showed their sympathy to those who suffered for them.

M. L. de Montluc of the *Institut de Droit International* to the Acting Director, June 21, 1917.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of the two resolutions adopted at your annual meeting held at Washington on April 19-20, 1917; and I hasten to congratulate the Endowment for the said resolutions, which I perused with high and deep gratification and, as a Frenchman, with heartfelt gratitude.

Subsequent correspondence and conferences have served to establish the conviction that it will not be wise to attempt any expenditure for reconstruction in the countries named until hostilities have ended and there is complete assurance that whatever is done will remain as a permanent addition to the resources and the comfort of the peoples concerned. It seems to be clear also that when expenditure is begun under the terms of this appropriation it should be done only under and with the direct authority of the governments of the countries named. It seems likely that when this appropriation is expended it can be so applied as both to preserve the identity of the particular benefaction from the Carnegie Endowment and also to offer an example or model of some typical form or act of reconstruction. For the present, therefore, no further steps toward the use of this appropriation appear to be either practicable or wise.

### Administration of the Division

#### IN THE UNITED STATES

The offices of the Division are in the building No. 407 West 117th Street, New York, for which an annual rental of \$1,600 is paid. The building also contains the offices of the Division of Economics and History and those of the American Association for International Conciliation, thus making possible close cooperation between these several offices, as well as the avoidance of duplication of expense and of effort.

In addition to a large volume of correspondence with persons of influence and authority in this and other countries, a great deal of educational work has been carried on through the systematic distribution to libraries, institutions and individuals, of books, pamphlets and leaflets on subjects of international importance. The books and pamphlets distributed have dealt chiefly with the general principles underlying international comity and have included works relating to the causes and effects of the present war and the basic terms on which alone a just and durable peace can rest. Among the publications distributed in numbers ranging from one thousand to as many as thirty-five thousand copies are the following:

Woodrow Wilson:	Why We Are at War
Nicholas Murray Butler:	A World in Ferment
Thetta Quay Franks:	Household Organization for War Service
Cosmos:	The Basis of Durable Peace

At the meeting of the Executive Committee held January 4, 1917, the Secretary of the Endowment recommended that the book announced for publication by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons containing a series of articles which had appeared in the *New York Times* under the *nom de plume* of Cosmos be widely distributed in English and also translated into other languages for distribution in countries where English is not generally spoken. Under the authority of the Executive Committee arrangements were accordingly made with Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons for the publication of editions of this book in English, French, Japanese, Russian and Spanish and the volumes have been carefully but widely distributed in the countries where those languages are spoken. The rendering of this book into Japanese, and the manufacture and distribution of the Japanese edition, were entrusted to Mr. Miyaoka, special correspondent of the Division at Tokio, and the work has been done in Japan under his direction.

In response to suggestions received from various correspondents at home and abroad, a number of leaflets containing brief quotations or paragraphs on subjects of international import were printed so as to be readily enclosed with letters. Many of these have been used in the correspondence of the Division and some have been furnished in quantity to other persons for similar use by them. The result was so satisfactory that broadsides containing paragraphs Concerning Peace and The International Mind, were printed in large type of a size and quality suitable for framing. These are now to be found well displayed in many libraries, clubs, chambers of commerce, Young Men's Christian Association buildings and other similar places. Some libraries have begun the establishment of what they designate as International Mind Alcoves where they bring together their collection of books dealing with international relations and international policies. In some cases the Division has aided libraries in selecting books for such alcoves and has assisted in laying the foundation of such a collection.

The office file of newspaper cuttings and the collection of official and other documents have grown rapidly in volume and value. These records, together with important reports from the special correspondents of the Division, many of which are highly confidential in character, have made possible a careful and constant study of the startling changes brought about by the war, as well as a knowledge of those fundamental principles which must be universally agreed upon and established before there can be brought about a worldwide peace that shall be both equitable and lasting.

Plans have been developed and are under way for the establishment of libraries on American history, literature, science and culture in important sections of England, France and Russia.

The formal publications of the Division that have been issued and distributed during the past year are:

Publication No. 11

Hygiene and War, by George Ellis Jones, Ph.D.

Suggestions for makers of textbooks and for use in schools.

## Publication No. 12

Russia, the Revolution and the War, by Christian L. Lange

An account of a visit to Petrograd and Helsingfors in March, 1917.

## Publication No. 13

Greetings to the New Russia

Addresses at a meeting held at the Hudson Theatre, New York, April 23, 1917, under the auspices of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

## Publication No. 14

South American Opinions on the War:

I. Chile and the War, by Carlos Silva Vildósola,

II. The Attitude of Ecuador, by Nicolás F. López.

## Publication No. 15

The Imperial Japanese Mission

A record of the reception throughout the United States of the Special Mission headed by Viscount Ishii.

## IN EUROPE

The European Bureau at 24 Rue Pierre Curie, Paris, has preserved its organization without attempting anything more, which in any event circumstances have rendered impossible. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, although heavily weighted with his duties as Senator, gives personal supervision to the work of the Bureau. This is now confined principally to correspondence and to offering helpful advice and assistance to the large number of foreigners who are in France and to those residents of France who have suffered most severely by enemy invasion.

During the last fiscal year the following subventions were granted:

To the Frédéric Passy Library.....	Frs. 4,000.00
To the Comité France Amérique.....	2,072.60

Since the beginning of the war the Frédéric Passy Library has served the needs of those living in Paris or visiting that city who have wished to avail themselves of its valuable collection of works on international polity. The Comité France Amérique has during the period under review been steadily at work to increase friendship and knowledge of each other on the part of the peoples of America and France.

The financial report of the European Bureau, verified by the auditor, M. Théodore Ruysen, shows the following expenditures for the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917:

Administration expenses, including salaries, clerical assistance, rent and postage.....	Frs. 30,830.70
Subventions to societies.....	6,072.60
Distribution of Georges Bourdon's L'Enigme Allemand.....	.70
Miscellaneous expenses at bank.....	19.35
	<hr/> Frs. 36,923.35

No disbursements were made on account of the work of the Division of Economics and History.

## THE ADVISORY COUNCIL IN EUROPE—THE EUROPEAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

No meetings of the Advisory Council in Europe or of the European Executive Committee have been held since 1914.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, President of the Council has maintained communication by letter with members of the Council from neutral countries and from countries allied with France, as well as with the Endowment's representatives in the United States.

## Work in Europe

## UNION INTERPARLEMENTAIRE, BRUSSELS

Dr. Christian L. Lange, permanent secretary of the *Union Interparlementaire* maintains temporary offices in Christiania, Norway. Formal meetings of the Union are necessarily dispensed with awaiting the end of the war.

On December 12, 1916, the Acting Director, in a letter to Dr. Lange, requested that he make a visit to the capitals and seats of opinion of the leading belligerent and the chief European neutral countries. In March, 1917, Dr. Lange traveled to Helsingfors and Petrograd, and arrived at the Russian capital on March 17, two days after the abdication of the Czar. His most illuminating report on conditions in Russia and of the occurrences that attended the outbreak of the revolution, has been printed and distributed as Publication No. 12 of the Division. War conditions made it necessary for Dr. Lange to return direct from Petrograd to Christiania. In May and June, 1917, he carried out the remainder of his original plan and visited Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark. His important report on this journey was of so highly confidential a character that it has been reserved for the information of the Trustees alone.

## INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE, LONDON

The stand taken by the International Arbitration League, in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war as the best and the only effective means to bring about a world organization that will give promise of a just and peaceful development of civilization, has somewhat cut off the League from other British peace organizations, including the National Peace Council. The journal published by the League, *The Arbitrator*, has however lost few of its supporters. For the work of the League an annual subvention of \$1,000 is granted.

The International Arbitration League and all others in the British Empire and in the world at large who take a deep and sincere interest in progress toward international justice have suffered a great loss in the death of Felix Stone Moscheles, the artist, who died December 22, 1917, at Tunbridge Wells, England, in his eighty-fifth year. Mr. Moscheles was distinguished as a portrait painter as well as one who devoted the best years of his long and useful life to increasing in the world the sum of brotherly love both between individuals and between nations. For many years he was President of the International Arbitration and Peace Association and was the senior member of the *Bureau Internationale de la Paix*.



## AID TO PERIODICALS

The subventions granted to European periodicals for the year ended June 30, 1917, were as follows:

Die Friedens-Warte, Vienna.....	\$4,500
La Paix par le Droit, Paris.....	1,500

After careful consideration and a frank exchange of views by correspondence between the Acting Director and the editors of these journals, it was decided by the Executive Committee to be inexpedient to continue subventions to them. This decision was not based upon disapproval of the policies of the journals in question, but upon two distinct considerations: first, that war conditions tended to decrease interest in the publications, and, second, that public opinion in many countries believed all such journals to be advocates of a negotiated or compromise peace. An examination of *La Paix par le Droit* for the last three years will show that in the case of that journal such an opinion was without foundation, but the fact that this opinion was so widely held nullified to a large extent the effectiveness of the very conscientious work of the editorial staff. No subventions in aid of these periodicals were granted for the year ending June 30, 1918.

## Special Correspondents

Dr. Alfred H. Fried, formerly correspondent of the Division at Vienna, but now located at Berne, Switzerland, is an Austrian subject and, therefore, his connection with the work of the Division ceased automatically on December 7, 1917, when a state of war was declared to exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary. Until that time he had kept in touch by correspondence with the New York office and reported constantly on the kaleidoscopic changes of affairs and opinions in Europe. As editor of *Die Friedens-Warte*, Dr. Fried met with much difficulty in distributing his journal beyond the borders of Switzerland, but had sometimes succeeded in effecting its delivery even in the Teutonic Empires where governmental disapproval was very marked.

Mr. Francis W. Hirst, correspondent of the Division in London, was unable to send formal reports during the last fiscal year because of the censorship. In informal letters, however, he gave valuable information as to public opinion and events in the British Empire.

Mr. T. Miyaoka, correspondent of the Division at Tokio, continues a regular and very comprehensive correspondence with the Acting Director dealing with Asiatic affairs and events which have international significance. During the calendar year 1917 he sent one hundred letters and reports, many of which contained most valuable information as to the political situation in Japan and in China. Among the important topics reported upon were:

Reaction of Japanese public opinion upon:  
Entry of the United States into the war,  
Death of Ambassador Guthrie,  
Lansing-Ishii agreement;  
Labor question in Japan,  
Japanese edition of *The Basis of Durable Peace* by Cosmos,  
Welcome to American visitors to Japan,  
German machinations in Japan,  
Japanese publications on the war,  
Japan's cooperation in the war,  
Attitude of Japan toward China,  
Japanese special missions to the United States,  
Japan's new colonial organization,  
Educational affairs in Japan.

It is gratifying to report the fact that Mr. Miyaoka has received and accepted an invitation to come to the United States to address the American Bar Association at its annual meeting for 1918.

Dr. Otfried Nippold, the correspondent of the Division at Berne, has rendered valuable service in reporting upon conditions and public opinion in Switzerland, and, to a limited degree, in the Teutonic Empires. During 1917, in addition to many newspaper articles he published a book entitled *Die Gestaltung des Völkerrechts nach diesem Kriege*. This book has already been translated into several foreign languages including English, French, Japanese and Chinese. A revised edition of his work *Der Deutsche Chauvinismus* is nearly ready for publication in various languages. The original edition appeared in 1913. The new edition will be in two volumes, the first treating of events to May, 1913, and the second covering the period from May, 1913, to June, 1914. Dr. Nippold has also in preparation a large work on Germany's relation to international law which can probably not wisely be published until the war ends.

Professor Wilhelm Paszkowski, formerly correspondent of the Division at Berlin, has not been heard from directly since January 4, 1917. His connection with the Division ceased automatically when the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917.

Sir William J. Collins, M.P., was appointed correspondent of the Division in London at the meeting of the Executive Committee held October 8, 1917. His confidential reports on European conditions and British public opinion have proved to be extremely valuable.

Dr. Christian L. Lange, Permanent Secretary of the *Union Interparlementaire*, was appointed correspondent of the Division at Christiania at the meeting of the Executive Committee held October 8, 1917. Since 1911 Dr. Lange has kept in close touch with the offices of the Division. His reports of three trips made by him in 1916 and 1917 through the belligerent and neutral countries have been exceptionally instructive.

### Relations with Other American Republics

The developments of war have emphasized the community of interests and ideals between the republics of the western hemisphere and have strengthened the bonds of friendship between them. Differences of language, the length of time required for correspondence, and a steadily decreasing influence of old prejudices, remain as difficulties to be overcome to bring about a frank and cordial cooperation in developing the common ideals of democracy.

It is satisfactory to note that in the educational institutions of the United States there is a remarkable increase in the demand for instruction in the Spanish language and literature and in the history and customs of Spanish-speaking countries. A similar if less extended interest in the English language and in North American affairs is apparent in the countries of South and Central America. Efforts are making to arrange for fast steamship service, to be put into effect when normal shipping conditions return, that will facilitate both correspondence and trade. The closer intimacy and the more thorough knowledge of each other that are now growing rapidly between American countries can not fail to remove many prejudices of long standing, and to lead to a just settlement of such misunderstandings and disputes as an impartial investigation may show to rest upon a real foundation.

Among the effective means of increasing among nations the knowledge of each other is the exchange of teachers and of college and university students. In 1917 Professor Charles M. Strong was appointed by the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, as visiting professor at the University of Chile, Santiago, Chile; and Professor Benjamin Oyarzin was appointed by the government of Chile as visiting professor at the University of Washington. At the meeting of the Executive Committee held February 23, 1917, Professor Strong was appointed temporary correspondent of the Division during his stay in Chile from April until December, 1917. Professor Strong sent a number of valuable reports on affairs and opinions in South America.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee held October 8, 1917, a fellowship for two years, having a value of eight hundred dollars a year was granted to Mr. Luis A. Tirapegui, of Chile, toward meeting his expenses during two years' study in the United States.

The work of the Inter-American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation, including the publication of documents, the establishment of the magazine *Inter-America* and the Inter-America Library will be mentioned below (page 88).

### Relations with Japan and the Orient

Since the United States and Japan became allies in the war many suggestions have been received that the exchange of visits on the part of representative men between Japan and the United States should be resumed.

The late Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, Privy Councilor, President of the Imperial Academy, former Minister of Education and ex-President of the Imperial University of Tokio and of the Imperial University of Kioto, in an article entitled "One Method of Promoting International Good Will" published in *The Japan Peace Movement* of April, 1917, expressed regret that the exchange of visits had been suspended, and stated that in his opinion the visits of men of high intellectual standing had done much good in Japan. Views favorable to the resumption of the educational exchange were also expressed by a number of the Trustees of the Endowment and by men prominent in American education. In view of the gratifying results of the official and unofficial Missions from Japan to the United States during the year 1917, and in particular of the Mission headed by Viscount Ishii, it is planned to arrange at an early date for the visit of distinguished Americans to Japan.

The frank interchange of views between prominent citizens of the two nations has resulted in clearing away many of the questions that some have thought might cause friction. Continued development of cordial and friendly relations will almost certainly dispose of those questions that still remain, especially in view of the present clear recognition of the part played in the past by the insidious influence of German propaganda in endeavoring to promote friction between Japan and the United States.

The Division has compiled and issued Publication No. 15 containing all of the addresses delivered by Viscount Ishii during his recent visit to the United States as well as many of the speeches delivered by the Imperial Japanese Ambassador, Aimaro Sato, and others at various entertainments and receptions given in honor of the Mission. This volume will be given the widest possible circulation.

The Japan Society of New York has taken advantage of the unusual opportunities afforded to increase the knowledge among our people of the political, economic and cultural history of Japan. Through the publication of news items and advertisements through public lectures, through an information bureau for travelers, through distribution of books and pamphlets and particularly through formal banquets and entertainments in honor of the distinguished citizens of Japan who have visited the United States, the Japan Society has helped appreciably to increase the friendship between the nations.

During the year under review the Endowment's contribution in aid of the Japan Society of New York was \$4,000.

### **International Visits of Representative Men**

No international visits of representative men were arranged for during the past year, but these will be resumed at the earliest opportunity.

### **Association for International Conciliation**

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, *Président Fondateur* of the *Conciliation Internationale* at Paris directs the work of the parent organization. In his re-

port for the year 1917 he states that while all intercourse with former friends of international conciliation in enemy countries has absolutely ceased, his relations with those in neutral and Allied countries have become more and more intimate. By conversations and correspondence he has impressed upon them that the *Conciliation Internationale* until July 31, 1914, had done all in its power to bring about just dealings and thereby peaceful relations between nations. But when in defiance of all justice peaceful nations were treacherously attacked by Germany, the Association at once recognized that to such an outrage the only response must be determined resistance with every force, military, moral and economic, and that the struggle must continue until democratic justice has achieved a decisive victory over autocratic violence. The continuance of the war has made it perfectly clear that the main object for which to strive should be unity of purpose and of action among the Allied nations.

For years before the war the *Conciliation Internationale* aided largely in increasing friendship and cooperation between France and the United States. During the years of war these bonds have grown steadily closer. The series of highly important letters on subjects relating to the war, written by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant to the Acting Director, numbered 340 at the end of 1917. They constitute a veritable storehouse of information and reflection on the progress of the war and the problems growing out of it, and have permanent historical value.

In 1915 and 1916 no meetings of the General Assembly of the *Conciliation Internationale* were held. On March 26, 1917, however, a meeting was held in Paris at which the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Sharp, was present.

Reports on conditions in France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Russia, Sweden and the United States were heard.

A list of the bulletins published in 1914, 1915, and 1916 follows.

#### No. 1—1914

La plus grande Nationalité (The Higher Nationality).

Etude de Droit et de Morale.

Discours prononcé devant l'Association Américaine du Barreau de Montréal, le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1913, par le Vicomte Haldane de Cloan, Lord Chancelier de Grande-Bretagne. (Traduit de l'anglais et accompagné d'une préface par Th. Ruyssen, Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux.)

La Mission du Président C. W. Eliot en Extrême-Orient, par Jacques Dumas, Docteur en Droit.

#### No. 2—1914

L'Assemblée Générale du 30 mars 1914: Compte-rendu de la réunion.

Préface: Pourquoi nous continuons de publier nos Bulletins, par M. d'Estournelles de Constant.  
Rapport de M. le Président—La situation financière—Les relations franco-allemandes par des concessions mutuelles—La Conciliation dans les Mondes nouveaux—La Conciliation en Angleterre, en Belgique, en Italie, en Espagne, en Scandinavie, en Chine, dans les Balkans, au Brésil, en Suisse et en France—Le Palais de la Paix et la Conciliation—Projet d'organisation d'un Congrès de la Conciliation en France.

Obsèques de Jean Jaurès.

La Conférence de Bâle (avec 2 gravures hors texte).

La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine.

Le Banquet de l'Entente Cordiale à Londres (30 juin 1914).

L'Enquête dans les Balkans (Rapport publié par la Dotation Carnegie).

No. 3—1914

La Solidarité Humaine (Deux discours de M. Léon Bourgeois).  
 L'Organisation internationale de la Prévoyance sociale (Conférence faite par M. Léon Bourgeois, Sénateur, à l'Exposition Universelle de Gand, le 6 septembre 1913).  
 La Civilisation Atlantique et les Conférences de La Haye (Discours prononcé par M. Léon Bourgeois, au Comité France-Amérique, le 2 décembre 1913).  
 Les Hyperdreadnoughts et nos vaines protestations:  
 Pour la Défense nationale contre les Superdreadnoughts (Discours prononcé par M. d'Estournelles de Constant, au Sénat, le 26 juin 1914).

No. 4—1914

Le Dîner Butler (Paris, 16 juin 1914).  
 L'Esprit International, par M. G. Hanotaux, de l'Académie française.

No. 1—1915

Le Châtiment: Le jugement des penseurs sur l'Allemagne militarisée (Quelques documents, parmi beaucoup d'autres, pour l'édification de la conscience moderne):  
 Discours de M. Henri Bergson, président de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, à la séance publique annuelle, le 12 décembre 1914.  
 Les Causes profondes de la Guerre, par M. Emile Hovelaque.  
 La Conquête Allemande, par Paul Valéry.

No. 2—1915

Lettres aux Neutres: La Conciliation pendant la Guerre.  
 Préface: Qu'avons-nous fait pendant la Guerre? par M. d'Estournelles de Constant.  
 L'Epuisement de la France ou de l'Allemagne (Lettre de M. d'Estournelles de Constant à M. X. aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique).  
 Le Crime et le Châtiment (Lettres de MM. A. Weiss et d'Estournelles de Constant au Directeur du Temps).  
 L'Opinion Américaine et les Crimes Allemands:  
 Extraits d'une lettre adressée par M. le Président Butler à M. le Pr Paszkowski, de l'Université de Berlin.  
 Lettre ouverte adressée par M. d'Estournelles de Constant à M. W. J. Bryan, ancien Secrétaire d'Etat à Washington.  
 Réimpression de la préface du bulletin n°. 2 de 1914.

No. 3—1915

Quelques Raisons de notre Optimisme.  
 Une Paix de cent ans et la Guerre actuelle (Lettre adressée à M. le Directeur de la Revue Américaine, *The Review of Reviews*, par M. d'Estournelles de Constant).  
 Un Voyage en Aéroplane (Lettre adressée à M. le Président Nicholas Murray Butler, président, aux Etats-Unis, de la Conciliation Internationale, par M. d'Estournelles de Constant).  
 Contre mon Optimisme (Lettre adressée à M. le Président Nicholas Murray Butler, par M. d'Estournelles de Constant).

No. 4—1915

Le devoir et l'intérêt des Etats-Unis (Publications de M. d'Estournelles de Constant aux Etats-Unis).  
 Le devoir et l'intérêt des Etats-Unis (Traduit de la Revue Américaine, *The Atlantic Monthly*, décembre 1915).  
 La plus grande Allemagne (Traduit de la *New-York Tribune*, octobre 1915).  
 Extraits du discours de M. Elihu Root à la Convention Républicaine de New-York, le 15 février 1916.

No. 1—1916

La Défense du Peuple Américain (Conférence prononcée par M. Whitney Warren, citoyen américain, membre de l'Institut, le 25 mai 1916, à la salle Gaveau, à Paris).  
 Jeunesse, par le Pasteur Charles Wagner (1891-1916). Préface de l'édition de 1916.

No. 2—1916

M. d'Estournelles devait savoir. . . . (Lettre adressée par M. d'Estournelles de Constant à ses amis du département de la Sarthe qu'il représente au Sénat).  
 Les Femmes pendant et après la Guerre: Les temps nouveaux; Mon chemin de Damas, par M. d'Estournelles de Constant.  
 Nos Amis Russes: Discours de M. Maklakoff; Maxime Kowalewski.  
 M. d'Estournelles devait savoir. . . .  
 Notre Assemblée Générale.

## No. 3—1916

La Conciliation en Espagne, en Suisse, en Italie, aux Etats-Unis.  
 La Conciliation en Espagne (3<sup>e</sup> rapport trimestriel de 1916), par M. Pedro Sangro y Ros de Olano.  
 L'immense effort de l'Italie, par M. Whitney Warren.  
 La plus inaltérable gratitude, par W. D. Guthrie, membre du Comité de l'anniversaire de Lafayette.  
 Le Principe fondamental à considérer dans la Question du Droit International, par le P<sup>r</sup> Nippold.  
 Les Comptes de la Conciliation pour l'année 1916.

## No. 4—1916

La Paix Française contre la Domination Allemande.  
 Lettre de M. d'Estournelles de Constant à la Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich (16 avril 1916).  
 Lettre ouverte à M. d'Estournelles de Constant, par M. le P<sup>r</sup> W. Foerster (Munich, avril 1916).  
 Deuxième lettre de M. d'Estournelles de Constant à la Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich (29 avril 1916).  
 Pour la Noël: Lettre de M. d'Estournelles de Constant à M. le Directeur de la Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich (Paris, 20 décembre 1916).

From the financial report for the year 1916 it appeared that the receipts of the *Conciliation Internationale* amounted to 38,780.25 francs. The disbursements for the same period amounted to 25,765.80 francs. The report explains that every possible economy has been practised in order to accumulate a fund which will be urgently needed for important work at the end of the war. The Branches of the *Conciliation Internationale* are as follows:

American at New York	Secretary: Frederick P. Keppel <sup>1</sup>
Argentine at Buenos Aires	Secretary: Benj. García Victorica
Brazilian at Rio de Janeiro	Secretary: A. G. Araujo Jorge
Canadian at Ottawa	Director: W. S. MacKenzie-King
Japanese at Tokio	Secretary: T. Miyaoka
Peruvian at Lima	Secretary: J. Bautista de Laval
World Friendship Society at London	President: T. Vezey Strong.

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

The interest of the American people in the documents published monthly by the Association is constantly proved by requests for special numbers and during the past year by the receipt of a large number of paid subscriptions. Early in 1917, a change in the administration of the postal laws made it necessary to fix a subscription price for the publications in order that the privilege of mailing them at second class rates of postage might be retained. The low price of twenty-five cents a year, or \$1.00 for five years, was fixed upon and a notice of the necessary change of policy was sent to those to whom the documents had previously been distributed without charge. The responses from many thousands were prompt and gratifying.

During the year ending June 30, 1917, the regular monthly publications were as follows:

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE EUROPEAN WAR	July	1916
Series XIV.		
Speech of the Imperial Chancellor before the Reichstag, on April 5, 1916.		
INTER ARMA VERITAS	August	
By William Allan Neilson, Professor of English, Harvard University.		
THE PROPOSAL FOR A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE	September	
Affirmative—William Howard Taft.		
Negative—William Jennings Bryan.		
Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, 1916.		

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keppel has since resigned upon accepting his appointment as Assistant Secretary of War.

NATIONALITY AND BEYOND By Nicholas Murray Butler.	October
DO WE WANT HALF THE HEMISPHERE? By Professor Brander Matthews.	
WAR AND HUMAN PROGRESS By Viscount Bryce.	November
THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY By Théodore Ruysen.	December
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS LOOKING TOWARD PEACE Series I.	1917 January
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS LOOKING TOWARD PEACE Series II.	February
WHAT IS A NATIONALITY? (The Principle of Nationality—Part II) by Théodore Ruysen.	March
THE BASIS OF AN ENDURING PEACE By Professor Franklin H. Giddings.	April
DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE EUROPEAN WAR Series No. XV. The Entry of the United States.	May
THE WAR AND THE COLLEGE By Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.	June

The correspondence received demonstrates the high value placed by readers of the documents upon the series containing official documents regarding the European War. These are frequently quoted and referred to in books and periodicals and are much used as aids to instruction by teachers in colleges and universities.

Among the books distributed this year, principally to college libraries and the international polity clubs, were:

C. R. Ashbee:	The American League to Enforce Peace,
E. W. Clement:	Constitutional Imperialism in Japan,
Cosmos:	The Basis of Durable Peace,
Robert Goldsmith:	A League to Enforce Peace,
J. A. Hobson:	The New Protectionism,
Roland Hugins:	The Possible Peace,
Harold J. Laski:	Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty,
Ramsay Muir:	Nationalism and Internationalism,
Henry F. Munro:	} International Cases,
Ellery C. Stowell:	
H. H. Powers:	The Things Men Fight for,
Bertrand Russell:	Why Men Fight,
Walter E. Weyl:	American World Policies.

Mr. Dunbar Rowland, Assistant Secretary for the Southern States, with headquarters at Jackson, Miss., reports as follows:

This office has, in keeping with the policy of the Association, done everything in its power to help the government to put in motion the war measures necessary for the safety and peace of the country. It has also kept alive the interest in the aims and objects of the Association, for usefulness in the future in promoting reconciliation among nations.



The series of letters of information to Professor Paszkowski, of Berlin, has of course been discontinued.

A subvention of \$2,500 was allotted to the France-America Society in order to aid its work in increasing the knowledge of each other on the part of the people of the United States and France.

The American Association for International Conciliation, in addition to its own immediate work, acts as an agency for the Division of Intercourse and Education in a number of lines of purely educational work. Among these are the contributions to other branch Associations, the maintenance of international polity clubs, and summer session instruction at many colleges, universities and normal schools.

*International Polity Clubs, 1916-17.*

During the year the principal assistance given the international polity clubs at leading colleges and universities was by sending speakers to address the clubs and supplying books and pamphlets on international subjects for study. In December, 1916, an informal conference of university teachers was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, to discuss the work of the international polity clubs. As a result of this conference it was decided to discontinue entirely certain lines of study during the war since they might readily produce contention rather than encourage thoughtfulness.

A series of prizes was offered to the clubs for the best reviews of the two following books:

Nationalism, War and Society, by Edward Krehbiel,  
The Things Men Fight for, by H. H. Powers.

The first prize in both cases was awarded to Malbone Watson Graham, Jr., member of the sophomore class of the University of California. During the year expenditures for the work of the international polity clubs amounted to \$7,731.22.

*Summer School Instruction, 1917.*

The Association arranged for courses in 1917 on International Law, International Relations, American Diplomacy, Spanish, Latin American Relations and South American History at the summer sessions of 75 selected universities, colleges, and state normal schools. The total enrolment of students in these courses was 3,540, an increase of 240 over the previous year.

The enrolment was divided as follows:

Spanish.....	1,376
American Diplomacy and Latin American Relations.....	274
South American History and Geography.....	554
International Law.....	237
International Relations.....	1,099

During the year expenditures for the work of this summer school instruction, which were made through the institutions themselves, amounted to \$22,506.53.

*Inter-American Division*

The name of the Pan American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation has been changed to that of the Inter-American Division. The new name expresses more accurately the purpose for which the division is established, namely, to encourage just dealings and an increase of friendship among the republics of the American continents and is much preferred by correspondents in South and Central America.

The work of the division for the past year has been principally devoted to correspondence, to the publication of the magazine *Inter-America*, to the preparation of the Inter-America Library, to lectures delivered by the director, Mr. Goldsmith, as well as to the collection of libraries on North American subjects to be presented to important institutions in South American countries. The correspondence of the division continues to grow in volume and importance. It is gratifying to note the cordial relations maintained with the delegates to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, held at Washington in December, 1915, and January, 1916.

The magazine *Inter-America* has been cordially welcomed in the United States and in Spanish-speaking American countries. In accordance with the plan adopted, alternate issues contain translations from English into Spanish while the intervening issues contain translations from Spanish into English. The first issue in May, 1917, and the following issues in July, September and November, 1917, and in January and March, 1918, are made up of translations into Spanish from representative magazine articles published in the United States, and so selected as to cover a wide field of information and of interest. These issues were distributed to subscribers and to a selected list of libraries and institutions mainly in Spanish-speaking countries. The size of the editions varied from 5,000 to 5,700 copies. Similarly the issues for October and December, 1917, and for February, 1918, contained translations into English of representative articles taken from periodicals published in South and Central American countries. Of these issues editions of 5,000 copies have been distributed to subscribers, libraries and institutions principally in the United States. An annual subscription price for the magazine has been fixed as follows:

<i>Inter-America</i> —English only (6 numbers).....	\$ .80
<i>Inter-America</i> —Spanish only (6 numbers).....	.80
<i>Inter-America</i> —English and Spanish (12 numbers).....	1.50
Single numbers.....	.15 per copy

To assist in the oversight and direction of this important undertaking an advisory editorial board has been chosen, representing scholars and men of letters in both North and South America. The members of this board are:

Professor James C. Bardin, University of Virginia, University, Va.

Professor Milton Alexander Buchanan, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

Señor Joaquín Díaz Garces, Editor of *El Mercurio*, Santiago, Chile.

Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, Stanford University, Calif.  
 Professor John D. Fitzgerald, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Ill.  
 Mr. Hamlin Garland, National Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.  
 Señor Antonio Gómez Restropo, man of letters, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
 Professor Frederick Bliss Luquiens, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
 Professor Federico de Onís, Columbia University, New York.  
 Señor Clemente Palma, Director of *La Crónica*, Lima, Peru.  
 Señor Manuel Segundo Sánchez, Director of the National Library, Caracas, Venezuela.  
 Señor Froylán Turcios, Director of *El Nuevo Tiempo*, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.  
 Señor Carlos de Velasco, Director of *Cuba Contemporánea*, Habana, Cuba.

The Spanish numbers of *Inter-America* have had a most gratifying reception from the reading public and from men of letters and publicists in South and Central America.

Although no issue of the Inter-America Library has yet appeared, progress is steadily making in the preparation of a number of these publications. The work of translation is naturally a slow process. The volumes for this library have been chosen on the advice of correspondents in South and Central American countries. Those which have been selected by Señor Ernesto Nelson of Buenos Aires and are now nearing completion are the following:

Butler, Nicholas Murray	The Meaning of Education.
Classics Stories of the North	
First Series	
Hawthorne	The Gray Champion; The May-Pole of Merrymount; Dr. Heidegger's Experiment; Legends of the Province House, I. Howe's Masquerade, II. Edward Randolph's Portrait; Feathertop; The Burial of Roger Malvin.
Irving	Rip Van Winkle; Legend of Sleepy Hollow.
Second Series	
Hale	The Man Without a Country.
Poe	The Fall of the House of Usher; Ligeia; The Masque of the Red Death; The Cask of Amontillado; A Descent into the Maelström; The Murders of the Rue Morgue; The Black Cat.
Harrison, Benjamin	This Country of Ours.
Johnston, Alexander	History of American Politics.
Smith, J. Russell	Commerce and Industry.
Trent, W. P.	A History of American Literature, 1607-1865.

The length of time required for correspondence with authors and publishers in South America has necessarily delayed the preparation of a similar list of Spanish and Portuguese books to be translated into English and published for distribution mainly in the United States. This work is being given constant attention and it is hoped that a list may be announced at an early date.

*Libraries for South America.*

The North American Library presented by the Endowment to the Museo Social Argentino of Buenos Aires was described in the last annual report. (See Year Book for 1917, page 67.) One of the results of the presentation of this library was that about three thousand books and pamphlets by distinguished South American authors, as well as government publications were presented to Mr. Goldsmith who represented the Endowment at the installation of the North American Library at Buenos Aires. About one thousand of these publications were presented as a gift from the Endowment to the New York Public Library where they will be made available for a large number of readers.

The Inter-American Division, acting for the Endowment, has in preparation a number of collections of North American books for presentation to selected institutions in Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. These collections will range in number from 50 to 3,000 volumes.

While in South America Mr. Goldsmith made a large collection of school products including drawings, basket work, weaving, wood carving and plaster casts. This collection was on exhibition for several months at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Arrangements have been made to exhibit the collection in other institutions for the training of teachers.

The director of the Inter-American Division has delivered a number of public addresses during the year. Among the places where he has spoken are:

Columbia University	New York,
Military Institute	Bordentown, N. J.,
First Unitarian Church	Yonkers, N. Y.,
Circulo Ibero-Americano	New York,
Brown University	Providence, R. I.,
University of Virginia	Charlottesville, Va.,
University of North Carolina	Chapel Hill, N. C.,
George Peabody College for Teachers	Nashville, Tenn.,
University of Georgia	Athens, Ga.,
Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, Md.,
National Conference on the Foreign Relations of the	
United States	Long Beach, N. Y.,
Association of Teachers of Spanish	New York.

*Financial.*

The allotments paid to or through the American Association for International Conciliation during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, amounted to \$85,916.32, divided as follows:

Work of the Association in the United States, including administration and publication.....	\$30,800.00	
Pan American Division.....	10,000.00	
	<hr/>	\$40,800.00
German newspaper correspondence, now discontinued.....	\$500.00	
American Group of Interparliamentary Union.....	416.32	

Payments to other branches and organizations:		
Conciliation Internationale, Paris.....	\$4,000.00	
Argentine Branch, Buenos Aires.....	500.00	
Brazilian Branch, Rio de Janeiro.....	500.00	
Chilean Branch, Santiago.....	500.00	
Peruvian Branch, Lima.....	500.00	
Canadian Branch, Ottawa.....	500.00	
Chinese Branch, Peking.....	200.00	
France-America Society, N. Y.....	2,500.00	
		\$10,116.32
Special undertakings for the Division of Intercourse and Education:		
International Polity Clubs.....	\$12,000.00	
Summer school instruction.....	23,000.00	
		35,000.00
Total.....		\$85,916.32

### Other Work in the United States

#### AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

The eighty-ninth annual report of the Director of the American Peace Society covers the year ended April 30, 1917.

The president's statement calls attention to a lack of creative and constructive peace propaganda in past years and makes the following recommendations:

- I. That unqualified and unwavering support be given the government in its military aims.
- II. That the high purposes for which we entered the war be kept constant and not be permitted to degenerate into thoughts of revenge, conquest or other selfish ends.
- III. That there should be begun immediately the task of preparing the minds of the peoples of all countries for the coming reconstruction. Specific recommendations for this educational work are given.
- IV. That study should be made of national and racial conditions and tendencies which have in them the seeds of future international conflict.
- V. That greater effectiveness be given to organizations that are working for the relief of war sufferers.

The report of the secretary shows that the American Peace Society is organized into five departments, twenty-seven divisions, twenty-seven section societies, and six affiliated societies, each of which is entitled to elect a director of the American Peace Society.

The membership for the past three years is as follows:

	1915	1916	1917
Divisions.....	5,840	5,831	4,789
Sections.....	1,091	1,060	1,408
Direct Members.....	944	958	1,099
Totals.....	7,875	7,849	7,296

The society publishes and distributes 56 pamphlets. During the year under review it purchased and resold 119 other publications, some in large quantities.

The *Advocate of Peace*, published monthly, is the organ of the society. The monthly editions of 10,000 have been distributed as follows:

To members.....	7,296
To subscribers (not members).....	305
Copies mailed free.....	1,799
Reserve stock.....	600

The treasurer's report shows that the total receipts were \$35,652.92 and the total disbursements \$36,147.03. The subvention granted by the Endowment for the year ended June 30, 1917, amounted to \$25,000, 70 per cent of the total receipts. Of the disbursements the sum of \$15,102.36 was devoted to field work, including allotments to branch societies. The cost of printing and mailing the *Advocate of Peace* and certain pamphlets was \$7,053.34.

At the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Endowment held on April 20, 1917, there was some discussion of the wisdom of continuing subventions to the American Peace Society and to the New York Peace Society. It was finally decided that the continuance of these subventions should be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee. On May 22, 1917, the Executive Committee, having before it a letter from the President of the American Peace Society, concluded, for the reasons advanced in that letter, to make a grant of a reduced amount for the year ending June 30, 1918, but without any obligation to continue or to renew this grant. Action was therefore taken to allot \$20,000 to the American Peace Society on the terms and conditions stated.

#### NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY

In previous years it was customary for the American Peace Society to allot a part of the subvention received from the Endowment to the New York Peace Society. For the year ending June 30, 1917, it was voted that such subvention as the Endowment might make to the New York Peace Society should be paid to it direct. The annual report of the New York Peace Society submitted by its secretary at the annual meeting on January 31, 1918, records the following principles as the fixed policy of the society:

1. We loyally support our government in this war in defense of American rights and the rights of humanity.
2. We advocate the right of small nations to enjoy freedom, security and self-government.
3. We advocate the adoption of policies that will tend to unite the nations, possessing the "organized major force of mankind," in substituting law for war in the settlement of international disputes, in using sea-power for the preservation of international rights, and in establishing efficient institutions for the maintenance of international justice.
4. We oppose commercial exploitations backed by military power, and we favor free communication and unhindered commercial exchange among friendly nations.
5. We favor international cooperation and all measures that tend to remove causes of enmity among nations, such as, in our own country, an

extension of the jurisdiction of the federal courts to include all cases involving the rights of aliens under treaties, the settlement of all disputes connected with the construction and control of the Panama Canal in such ways as shall be mutually acceptable among all parties interested, and the adoption of an immigration policy that is capable of impartial application.

6. We favor the employment of every method of education that promises to evoke and develop "the international mind."

The financial report for the calendar year 1917 shows total receipts of \$9,204.72 and total disbursements of \$5,469.28.

During the year the Endowment's contribution toward the expenses of the New York Peace Society amounted to \$6,000. On May 22, 1917, an additional subvention of \$4,000 was voted to the New York Peace Society for the work of the year ending June 30, 1918, under the same terms and conditions as those already noted in the case of the American Peace Society.

#### THE WORLD'S COURT LEAGUE

The offices of The World's Court League are in the Equitable Building, New York City. It has a large and increasing membership. The aims of this society are:

- I. A league of nations to insure justice.
- II. The creation of such international legislative, judicial, arbitral and administrative institutions as are needed by a league of nations for the maintenance of justice.
- III. The development of the international mind and will.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Endowment held May 22, 1917, consideration was given to a request that financial support be given The World's Court League, particularly in aid of its monthly publication *The World Court*. It was then agreed that a subvention of \$2,000 should be granted without any commitment or obligation as to its continuance or renewal.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK

The educational work through international polity clubs and summer school instruction has already been reported (p. 87).

A large general public has been reached week by week through newspaper articles on international affairs. Cooperation has been had with the public school system of the United States through the preparation and distribution of material for use in the schools and by writers of school textbooks.

#### *Work through Newspapers.*

The series of interviews with leaders of opinion in American and European countries has been continued and made available to many leading newspapers on a commercial basis. The articles comprising the series have dealt broadly with international affairs, their main purpose being to inform the reading public of the trend of opinion and of the history, habits and ideals of the prominent citizens of other lands, and to interest individuals more largely in the affairs of other

countries. These articles have been provided in systematic fashion for newspapers and newspaper syndicates.

*National Conference on the Foreign Relations of the United States.*

In December, 1916, at the annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York the importance of a campaign of education to create a proper attitude upon the part of our people toward the international situation was emphasized.

To organize such a campaign a general committee was appointed, constituted as follows:

Samuel McCune Lindsay, *Chairman ex-officio*

Felix Adler	John Bassett Moore
J. O. Adler	Henry Morgenthau
John G. Agar	Henry Raymond Mussey
Irving T. Bush	Alton B. Parker
Nicholas Murray Butler	George A. Plimpton
James Byrne	William L. Ransom
Edward T. Devine	Bernard H. Ridder
Cleveland H. Dodge	Elihu Root
Stephen P. Duggan	Leo S. Rowe
John H. Finley	Jacob H. Schiff
Martin H. Glynn	James Brown Scott
A. Barton Hepburn	Henry R. Seager
David M. Heyman	Edwin R. A. Seligman
David Jayne Hill	Albert Shaw
Charles E. Hughes	William R. Shepherd
Paul U. Kellogg	Charles H. Sherrill
Frederick P. Keppel	Munroe Smith
Thomas W. Lamont	Henry L. Stimson
Adolph Lewisohn	Ellery C. Stowell
Owen R. Lovejoy	Willard D. Straight
Sidney E. Mezes	Oswald G. Villard
John Purroy Mitchel	Henry White

Invitations to cooperate were sent to the American Society of International Law, the American Bar Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce. These organizations informally accepted the invitations.

It was decided that a National Conference on the Foreign Relations of the United States should be held at the Hotel Nassau, Long Beach, New York, from May 28 to June 1, 1917.

The program of the conference was as follows:

FIRST SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK

Monday Evening, May 28, 8.30 o'clock

Presiding Officer, *Samuel McCune Lindsay*

1. Address of Welcome  
*Nicholas Murray Butler*
2. The Future of International Law  
*Charles Evans Hughes*



## SECOND SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Tuesday Morning, May 29, 10 o'clock

THE NEED OF BETTER MACHINERY FOR INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS  
Presiding Officer, *Oscar S. Straus*

1. Open Diplomacy: Democratic Control of Diplomatic Negotiations  
*Domicio da Gama*  
*Arthur Bullard*
  2. Effect of Censorship in International Relations  
*Frederick Roy Martin*  
*John Temple Graves*  
*Henry A. Wise Wood*
- Discussion: *Paul U. Kellogg*  
General Discussion

## THIRD SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Tuesday Afternoon, May 29, 2.30 o'clock

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS WORLD ORGANIZATION  
Presiding Officer, *James Byrne*

1. International Arbitration  
*John Bassett Moore*
  2. A World Court  
*William I. Hull*
  3. International Legislation and Administration  
*Alpheus H. Snow*
- Discussion: *Felix Adler, Samuel T. Dutton, Lillian D. Wald*  
General Discussion

## FOURTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Tuesday Evening, May 29, 8.30 o'clock

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: WHAT THE UNITED STATES STANDS FOR  
Presiding Officer, *George Whitelock*  
Addresses by *Hamilton Holt, Bainbridge Colby, Lincoln Colcord, B. E. Shatsky*

## FIFTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Wednesday Morning, May 30, 10 o'clock

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN  
Presiding Officer, *Irving T. Bush*

1. Commercial and Financial Interests of the United States in the Caribbean  
*Edwin Borchard*
  2. The Attitude of the United States toward the Retention by European Nations of Colonies in and around the Caribbean  
*William R. Shepherd*
  3. The Relations of the United States to the Republics in and around the Caribbean  
*Oswald G. Villard*  
*Philip Marshall Brown*
- Discussion: *Albert Bushnell Hart, Cyrus F. Wicker*  
General Discussion

## SIXTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Wednesday Afternoon, May 30, 2.30 o'clock

DRAWING TOGETHER THE AMERICAS  
Presiding Officer, *Samuel McCune Lindsay*

1. Commercial and Financial Facilities  
*Roger W. Babson*  
*James Carson*
  2. Intellectual and Social Cooperation  
*Leo S. Rowe*
- Discussion: *Peter H. Goldsmith, Isaiah Bowman*  
General Discussion

## SEVENTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Wednesday Evening, May 30, 8.30 o'clock

THE FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH LATIN AMERICA  
Presiding Officer, *Albert Shaw*

1. From the Latin American Viewpoint  
*Federico A. Pezet*
2. The Monroe Doctrine after the War  
*George G. Wilson*
3. Pan-Americanism as a Working Program  
*Alejandro Alvarez*

## EIGHTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Thursday Morning, May 31, 10 o'clock

NATIONAL POLICY AS TO RESIDENT ALIENS: STATE RIGHTS AND TREATY OBLIGATIONS  
Presiding Officer, *William R. Shepherd*

1. State Interference with the Enforcement of Treaties  
*James Parker Hall*  
*Charles C. Hyde*
  2. Discrimination with Reference to Citizenship and Land Ownership  
*Toyokichi Iyenaga*  
*Hans von Kaltenborn*
- Discussion: *Sidney Gulick*  
General Discussion

## NINTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Thursday Afternoon, May 31, 2.30 o'clock

NEWER AMERICAN CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP  
Presiding Officer, *Henry R. Seager*

1. Labor as a Factor in International Adjustments  
*Meyer London*  
*Jane Addams*
  2. Suppressed Nationalities and the Consent of the Governed  
*Francis Hackett*
  3. Liberal England and International Relationships  
*S. K. Ratcliffe*
  4. Annexation and the Principle of Nationality  
*Stephen P. Duggan*
  5. Economic Access and Neutralization of Waterways  
*J. Russell Smith*
- Discussion: *William English Walling*, *Charles Pergler*  
General Discussion

## TENTH SESSION

HOTEL NASSAU, LONG BEACH, NEW YORK  
Thursday Evening, May 31, 8.30 o'clock

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST  
Presiding Officer, *Samuel McCune Lindsay*

1. The New China  
*Wellington Koo*
  2. American and Japanese Cooperation  
*Jokichi Takamine*
  3. Neglected Realities in the Far East  
*H. R. Mussey*
- General Discussion

## ELEVENTH SESSION

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK  
Friday Morning, June 1, 10.30 o'clock

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND TRADE RIVALRIES AS FACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS WITH  
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INVESTMENTS AND CONCESSIONS  
Presiding Officer, *Simeon E. Baldwin*

1. Dollar Diplomacy and Imperialism  
*Frederick C. Howe*

2. Trade Concessions, Investments, Conflict, and Policy in the Far East  
*Stanley K. Hornbeck*
  3. The Relation of Government to Property and Enterprise in the Americas  
*Charles W. Sutton*
  4. International Investments  
*George E. Roberts*
- Discussion: *H. A. Overstreet*

The total number of persons registered as members of the conference was 287. Among the guests were the Ambassador from Brazil, the Minister from China, the Minister from Bolivia, and the Minister from Switzerland. The French High Commission sent two delegates. Representatives of the American Association for International Conciliation, the American Geographical Society, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the League to Enforce Peace, the National Security League, the Women's Peace Party, the World's Court League, and the World Peace Foundation were present. The following newspapers, press associations, and magazines were also represented:

The Albany Argus	Albany, N. Y.
The Atlanta Constitution	Atlanta, Ga.
The Baltimore Sun	Baltimore, Md.
The Beacon	Wichita, Kan.
The Burlington Free Press	Burlington, Vt.
The Brooklyn Daily Eagle	Brooklyn, N. Y.
The Birmingham Age-Herald	Birmingham, Ala.
The Boston Herald	Boston, Mass.
The Chautauqua Institute	Chautauqua, N. Y.
The Duluth Herald	Duluth, Minn.
The Evening Post	Charleston, S. C.
The Evening Argus	Montpelier, Vt.
The Galveston-Dallas News	Dallas, Texas
The Greek National World	New York City
Le Temps	Paris, France
La Revista	New York City
The Lowell Courier-Citizen	Lowell, Mass.
The Manchester Guardian	Manchester, England
The Newark Evening News	Newark, N. J.
The New York American	New York City
The Evening Post	New York City
The New York Globe	New York City
The New York Herald	New York City
The New York Mail	New York City
The New York Sun	New York City
The New York Times	New York City
The New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung	New York City
The New York Tribune	New York City
The World	New York City
The Pioneer Press and Dispatch	St. Paul, Minn.
The Public Ledger	Philadelphia, Pa.
The Pittsburgh Dispatch	Pittsburgh, Pa.
The Sacramento Bee	Sacramento, Cal.
The State Journal	Madison, Wis.

The San Antonio Light	San Antonio, Texas
The Times-Picayune	New Orleans, La.
The Tennessean and American	Nashville, Tenn.
The Associated Press	
The East and West News Bureau	
The Newspaper Enterprise Association	
The Noel News Service	
The Slav Press Bureau	
The Russian Information Bureau	
The United Press	
The American Journal of International Law	
The Atlantic Monthly	
Collier's	
The Independent	
Leslie's Weekly	
The New Republic	
The Review of Reviews	
The Survey	
The World Court Magazine	

As may be seen from the program the subjects of discussion were divided into two groups:

- (1) Those that would interest our citizens primarily as Americans, and
- (2) Those that would interest them as citizens of a world power.

A full report of the proceedings of the conference, including the most important addresses and discussions was published in July, 1917, by the American Academy of Political Science.

A summary report by Stephen P. Duggan, secretary of the conference, was published in December, 1917, by the American Association for International Conciliation.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Endowment held February 23, 1917, it was decided to cooperate in organizing the conference and an allotment was made toward its expenses. During the year the amount contributed by the Endowment toward the expenses of the conference, including the cost of publication of the proceedings, was \$13,954.42.

#### MATERIAL FOR WRITERS OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

In the year book for 1917 (page 72) the work of gathering and publishing exact and authoritative material relating to war and peace for use by authors and publishers of school textbooks and by teachers in secondary schools was described. In July, 1917, the second pamphlet was issued under the title "Hygiene and War." This pamphlet of over 200 pages by Dr. George Ellis Jones, Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Pittsburgh, with an introduction by Dr. William Henry Burnham, Professor of Pedagogy and School Hygiene at Clark University, and edited by Dr. Paul Monroe, of Teachers College, Columbia University, has been pronounced by experts to be one of the best

treatises on the social aspects of hygiene which has ever been published. The distribution for the present has been limited to a few hundred copies sent to those who are specializing on the study of social hygiene and to libraries.

Material for a monograph on literature and war has also been completed, but it has been deemed advisable not to proceed with its publication at present.

Work has progressed on a monograph on geography. This work, however, can not be completed until the final terms of peace shall settle the boundary lines of the several nations of the world.

During the year the expenditures on account of material for writers of school textbooks amounted to \$1,910.53.

### Special Undertakings

#### MEDICAL BROTHERHOOD

On February 2, 1917, immediately upon the resumption of unrestricted submarine activity by Germany, Dr. S. J. Meltzer, President of the Medical Brotherhood, informed all its members that active work by the Brotherhood would cease until the end of the war. Notwithstanding the fact that no efforts have been made during the last year, there has been a slight increase in the membership which now numbers 15,101.

The Brotherhood takes the position that during the war it should not initiate any special lines of action for the medical profession which stands ready to answer any call to duty that the United States Government may make.

During the year the expenditures for the work of the Medical Brotherhood amounted to \$4,593.51, which included an advance of \$1,800 toward expenses to be incurred after June 30, 1917.

#### LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE AMÉRICAINE

At the meetings of the Executive Committee held November 27, 1916, and January 4, 1917, favorable consideration was given to the suggestion received from Mr. Charles Sarolea, Editor of *Everyman*, Edinburgh, Scotland, that encouragement be given to the publication of translations into French of important American books and documents. Mr. Sarolea reports that he has selected the following books for translation into French and has made arrangements for their publication by Georges Crès et Cie., Paris:

Butler, Nicholas Murray	The American as He Is True and False Democracy (In one volume)
Oliver, Frederick Scott	Life of Alexander Hamilton
Perkins, James Breck	France and the American Revolution
Sarolea, Charles	Europe's Debt to America

It is proposed that four or five books be published annually in *La Bibliothèque Américaine* and that the Endowment shall support the work indirectly by pur-

chasing a thousand or more copies of each book as published for distribution to libraries and other educational institutions in France.

This form of educational work is not dissimilar to that undertaken through the presentation in 1916 of the North American Library to the Museo Social Argentino, of Buenos Aires, and to the arrangements now under way for similar collections of books on North American topics to be presented to institutions in European and South American countries.

#### SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FRENCH YOUNG WOMEN

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Endowment held January 11, 1918, it was arranged to give support through the France-America Society of New York to an important suggestion received from the educational authorities of the French Republic.

These authorities desire to cooperate in providing better trained and more efficient teachers of French for American young women, to the end also that still closer intellectual and educational relations may be established between France and the United States. The French government proposes to select each year a certain number of well trained young women who are about to finish the equivalent of a college course in France, and to arrange to send them to this country for a period of, say, two years, these two years to be spent in resident study at some university of high rank. In return for this privilege the young women so chosen are to be under moral obligation to remain in America as teachers of French for a designated period, say, at least three years. It is proposed that the two years of study shall be devoted not to some formal or prescribed course leading to an academic degree, but to such subjects as will better equip these young women to teach French and to understand the point of view and the training of the American girl.

It is proposed that there be established a certain number of *bourses de voyage et de séjour* carrying from \$600 to \$750 a year each, which *bourses* will then be awarded to the young women chosen for the purpose under the authority of the French Government. In case the recipient of one of these *bourses* resides at a university where fees and cost of living are relatively high, the value of the *bourse* should be \$750. In case the recipient is placed at a college where fees and cost of living are less, the *bourses* might be \$600 each, or even, perhaps, in some cases \$500. These *bourses* would not be governed by any hard and fast rules, but would be subject to adjustment to meet actual conditions as they arise.

Mlle. Clement of the École Normale at Sèvres is now in this country to carry forward detailed arrangements as to these *bourses*. Mlle. Clement will return to France probably in April and will then devote some time to assisting in the choice of the most available young women to come to the United States for the work of the next academic year.

The detailed correspondence in the United States and the administrative

work will be carried on through the Maison Française, 411 West 117th Street, New York City, where the France-America Society has its administrative headquarters and which is intended to serve all the universities and colleges of this country in their intellectual relations with France.

An allotment of \$7,500 was placed at the disposal of the Division to be expended under the supervision of the Acting Director through the agency of the France-America Society in promoting this enterprise.

### COURSES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

During the academic year 1916-17 financial assistance was given toward the expense of conducting courses on international relations at a number of American universities.

These courses included a brief summary of international law, but were concerned more particularly with modern international relations in economics, trade, finance, science, literature, and art.

The object of the instruction is to develop the ability to think and the habit of thinking on lines of broad internationalism so that the rapid progress of events in current history may be viewed in clear perspective and with due appreciation of the relation that these events bear to each other.

The courses were given in 1916-17 at the following universities:

	<i>Number of Students</i>
Columbia University.....	8
under the direction of Professor H. F. Munro	
Harvard University.....	41
under the direction of Professor George Grafton Wilson	
Leland Stanford, Jr., University.....	39
under the direction of Professor Edward Krehbiel	
Northwestern University.....	44
under the direction of Professor Charles H. Watson	
University of Pennsylvania.....	22
under the direction of Professor J. C. Ballagh	
Washington University.....	65
under the direction of Professor W. F. Gephart	

From the reports received it appears that the courses were attended by students seriously interested in international affairs.

In the majority of cases the courses were given in departments of extension teaching thereby becoming available to persons of greater maturity than the usual undergraduate student.

Arrangements were completed for the repetition of the courses during the academic year 1917-18 at the universities mentioned in the foregoing list and also at the following:

University of Virginia  
    under the direction of Dr. Lindsay Rogers  
George Peabody College for Teachers

During the year expenditures in support of courses on international relations amounted to \$4,200.

## COUNCIL FOR STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, LONDON

Under the direction of Viscount Bryce the Council for Study of International Relations established Study Circles throughout Great Britain and provided a valuable series of textbooks for the use of members.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held February 23, 1917, authorization was given to extend financial aid in the sum of one thousand pounds to the Council. The remittance of \$4,866 was sent on March 1, 1917.

## Visits of Distinguished Foreigners

Since the last annual report the United States has been honored by visits of many important official and unofficial commissions from those nations that are allied with this country in the defense of justice and democracy. It has been the privilege and the pleasure of the Acting Director to extend hospitality to many of these distinguished guests.

## Conclusion

The work of the Division is now going forward smoothly and effectively in many countries and the results that are apparent fully justify both the labor and the money that have been and are being expended. The Division has never had any illusion as to the length of time it will take to raise the opinions and the ambitions of men to a plane where international war will become so unlikely as to be almost impossible. The work of the Division has been planned not in a Utopian but in a highly practical spirit. The fact has been kept steadily in view that a generation or a century or an even longer time might pass before the policies and the influences now organized and set at work are to come to full fruition. The war, however, has operated as a tremendous influence to carry forward the movement for so effective a world organization and so complete a world cooperation as shall erect new and imposing barriers against international war. The war itself has done what generations of argument and persuasion might never have accomplished. It now seems likely that when the war shall end with victory over the forces alike of autocracy and of anarchy, the world will be ready for no small part of those policies and institutions which only four years ago seemed to many to be but distant and vague ideals.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,  
*Acting Director.*

NEW YORK, *March 20, 1918.*



DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR



DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY  
REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

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TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The report of the work of the Division of Economics and History for the year 1915-16 outlined a plan for an economic history of the war. Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, whom we hoped to secure as the editor, has been called into public service and compelled to relinquish the direction of our study. The collecting of materials for it is continuing, and it is hoped that the preparation of the connected economic history may, before many months, be undertaken.

**The Japanese Studies**

The series of Japanese works, which we had hoped to have in hand at this time, is still undergoing a final editing by Professor Yamamoto, of the Imperial University at Tokio. The improved relation between America and Japan has opened the way for a fruitful cooperation in pursuing investigations on the continent of Asia, and yet the rapid changes which the war is bringing about in the status of that vast area suggest the possibility that, in these researches as well as in those directly connected with the war in Europe, the largest and most valuable results will be gained by studies which will be made after the war shall have ended. Nevertheless, it is the purpose of this Division not to confine itself to preparations for future work in this field, but rather to make, as soon as may be practicable, arrangements which will enlarge our list of reports on Asiatic subjects.

The list of studies so far as now outlined is as follows:

- Historical Investigation of Expenditures for War and Armament and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of Taxes for War and Armament and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of Public Loans for War and Armament and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of Expenditures on Account of Chino-Japanese War and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of Expenditures on Account of Russo-Japanese War and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of Military and Naval Industries and Their Economic Effects.
- Historical Investigation of the System of Conscription and Its Economic Effects.

The Land Leased by Foreign Powers in China and the Declaration of Non-cession of Territory by the Chinese Government.  
 Competition of Railway Contracts in China between the People of Different Powers.  
 Competition of Mining in China between the People of Different Powers.  
 Historical View of Indemnities Paid by the Chinese Government.  
 Historical View of the Foreign Loans in China.  
 The Banking Policy in China by Different Powers.  
 The Changes Wrought in China through Contact of the Japanese and Chinese.

### Preliminary Economic Studies of the War

In view of the fact that the more extended treatises for which this Division has arranged will require a considerable time in preparation, it became desirable that a series of shorter studies be prepared, dealing with topics of immediate importance in connection with the war. Under the supervision of Dr. Kinley, of the University of Illinois, member of the Committee of Research, plans for such a series were made during the summer of 1917. Up to the present time twenty contracts have been made by Dr. Kinley, for contributions to this series, and among the authors with whom arrangements have been made are some of the most distinguished economists of the United States. These contracts cover the following subjects:

- Early Economic Effects of the European War upon Canada*, by Adam Shortt, formerly Commissioner of the Canadian Civil Service, now Chairman, Board of Historical Publications, Canada.
- Early Effects of the European War upon the Finance, Commerce and Industry of Chile*, by L. S. Rowe, Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.
- War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain*, by Frank H. Dixon, Professor of Economics, Dartmouth College, and Julius H. Parmelee, Statistician, Bureau of Railway Economics.
- Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain*, by Irene Osgood Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation.
- Direct Costs of the Present War*, by Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois.
- Effects of the War upon Insurance, with Special Reference to the Substitution of Insurance for Pensions*, by William F. Gephart, Professor of Economics, Washington University, St. Louis.
- War Finance and Taxation, Especially in Great Britain and the United States*, by Frank L. McVey, President, University of Kentucky.
- Agricultural Production and Food Control in Great Britain and the United States*, by Benjamin H. Hibbard, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin.
- Effects of the War upon Shipping*, by J. Russell Smith, Professor of Industry, University of Pennsylvania.

## REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

- Economic and Social Effects of Government Control of the Liquor Business, with Special Reference to Great Britain and the United States*, by Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.
- Effects of the War upon Labor Conditions and Organization, with Special Reference to Great Britain and the United States*, by Matthew B. Hammond, Professor of Economics, Ohio State University.
- War Administration of Great Britain and the United States, Showing Changes in Governmental Organization Caused by the War*, by John A. Fairlie, Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois.
- Government War Control of Industry and Trade, with Special Reference to Great Britain and the United States*, by Charles Whiting Baker, New York City.
- Price Control in Great Britain and the United States*, by David Kinley, Professor of Political Economy, University of Illinois, and Simon Litman, University of Illinois.
- Training of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors for Economic Usefulness*, by Edward T. Devine, Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University.
- Effects of the War upon Negro Labor and Migration in the United States*, by Emmett J. Scott, Secretary of Tuskegee Institute.
- Thrift in Time of War*, by Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.
- Effects of the War upon Money, Credit and Banking in All Aspects, Especially with Reference to Great Britain, France, and the United States*, by B. M. Anderson, Jr., Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University.
- The Relation of the Economic and Social Conditions in Southeastern Europe and in Alsace-Lorraine to Conditions of Peace*, two volumes, by Stephen Pierce Duggan, Professor of Education, College of the City of New York.
- The Present Situation in Russia and Its Economic and Social Background*, by A. A. Goldenweiser.

At the present date, six of these studies have been published, and already there is a wide and constantly increasing demand for them. The series is published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, a part of it in paper bound form for free distribution, and the remainder in bound form for permanent library use, and for sale at the modest price of \$1 for each study.

### **An Economic History of the War**

By far the most important work which is open to us will consist of studies directly connected with the war itself and dealing with the costs of it, the commercial policies induced by it and, especially, the quasi-socialism which it has forced upon the various belligerent states. Each of these countries is, for military reasons, doing on a large scale many things which socialists have long demanded for reasons of a wholly opposite kind. In the international field socialism is inherently anti-military, and yet it is war that has transmuted its economic plans into realities, to an extent that few of its adherents would have dreamed of, had the war not occurred. He would have been a wild visionary who, before the great struggle began, would have predicted that the American

Government would soon hold railroads, ships, mines and mills under the autocratic control of public officers. What socialists had hoped to secure by a struggle of classes within each of the several states has been brought about by a struggle between the states, and socialists in every one of them have so far abandoned their pacifism as to join in this. Class antagonisms have been subordinated, proletarians, capitalists and landholders have united in fighting foreign proletarians, capitalists and landholders and the class consciousness of laborers the world over has not sufficed to prevent this break within their ranks.

### The Russian Situation

The Russian revolution, however, has reversed the policy of the proletariat in that empire and caused the subordination of patriotism and the immediate sacrifice of country to class. It has disarmed and disbanded the forces that might have protected Russian territory from annexation to Germany. In so far as it has sought to protect Russia against foreign enemies it has relied on an appeal to the class consciousness of German and Austrian laborers. In this latter policy genuine socialism is acting in its true character, as an international consolidator of the proletariat, while the quasi-socialism of war itself—the concentrating of vast economic powers in military hands—is also acting in its normal character and giving efficiency to the war in which the proletarians of each state join forces with the classes that, in an economic way, they expect in due time to overcome. That very nationalizing of industries which is demanded in socialistic platforms is giving energy to states engaged in a struggle to which socialism is by nature opposed.

### Socialism and the War

It may readily be inferred that, as the motive for the present action of the governments is unlike the motive which, for a hundred and fifty years, has actuated socialistic leaders, the actual policies of the governments will, in some essential way, become clearly unlike the genuine socialism which aims to avoid war between states and to uplift the proletariat by quasi-war within states. The economic policy of the present war is, in fact, not socialistic in spirit and purpose, however strongly the series of economic measures which the war has occasioned resembles some of those which the organized proletariat has demanded. Peace, however, will find the several governments controlling the course of productive industry on a vast scale, and the demand will certainly be made that they shall continue to do this and that they shall, further, proceed to nationalize the *ownership* of railroads, ships, mines, mills, etc., as well as the control of them.

If we put in parallel columns a list of measures which socialists have demanded and another list showing what governments are now doing, we shall find a great number of measures common to the two. Will states relinquish these when peace shall come, or will they retain them and take the further steps necessary to carry out the collectivist platform? Will the governments own

productive plants of every important kind, besides directing them, or, on the other hand, will the radical demands be satisfied by continued public control and private ownership? Will the situation demand or permit the returning of productive plants to private control? The success or failure of the government as a business manager, the degree of excellence of the service it renders to the public, the rate of wages it pays and many other facts will enter into the decision of these questions.

The actual returns from some kinds of labor now exceed what any state under a completely socialistic control could afford; and yet a fall in the rates of pay which these favored classes now receive would strengthen their demand for the extreme collectivist measure—the public ownership of capital. Lack of employment after the war will certainly strengthen this demand and unite men of other classes in urging it, and so will the shrinkage of general wealth which the war will have caused. Poverty will result in a call (1) for a more complete nationalization of resources than the war has caused, and (2) for an avoidance of future war itself, as a great destroyer and impoverisher of working people. Critical conditions will then exist and a successful study of them will yield results of value too great to be adequately characterized. Abiding peace both internal and international will depend on the practical solution of the economic problems that the war will leave behind it. While democracy in all its gradations increases the probability of peace between nations, in some of its forms it may yield anything but immediate peace within them. And yet, if the war ends rightly, general poverty should not result from it. Prosperity and a steady uplifting of the working class would normally follow the winning of the war by the forces of freedom, and, by wise statesmanship, they may be made to do so.

In the critical interval after the struggle shall have ended, the practical end to be attained will be such a cooperation of different industrial classes in activities of peace as now exists in those of war. True democracy requires such cooperation and excludes a ruinous proletarian war on capital, as to the effects of which Russia is giving an object lesson. Research may show that the economic measures which war has forced on the several states engaged in it, even though they be not permanent, may point the way toward an industrial system that will be, in some respects, new and will be good enough from the laborers' point of view to render genuine collectivism unnecessary, even if it were practicable. Any light thrown on this problem will help to illuminate the darkest region that humanity has soon to traverse in thought and in action.

JOHN BATES CLARK,  
*Director.*

NEW YORK, *March 20, 1918.*

## APPENDIX

### Report of the Present Condition of Works and Contracts

#### I

Books published and on sale:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Lord Courtney of Penwith	A Diplomatist	Nationalism and war in the Near East.
Westergaard	Drachmann	The industrial development and commercial policies of the three Scandinavian countries.
Westergaard	Bodart	Losses of life in modern wars.
Westergaard	Kellogg	Military selection and race deterioration.
Westergaard	Prinzinger	Epidemics resulting from wars.
Gide	Girault	The colonial tariff policy of France.
Philippovich	Grunzel	Economic protectionism.
Kinley	Munro	The five republics of Central America.

#### II

Books in type but publication postponed until after the war:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Hirst	many authors	Armament series.
Gide	Dumas	The right of capture.

#### III

Works completed but withheld:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Reinsch	Hornbeck	The open door policy in China.
Johnson	Johnson	History of the American peace movement.
Johnson	Johnson	American labor and war.
Philippovich	Drachovsky	Foreign loans in Austria.

#### IV

Works in process of printing or ready for it:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Bernstein	many authors	Attitude of socialists and trade unionists toward war and armaments.
Philippovich	Bodart	History of the causes of war, etc.
Reinsch	Wallace	The open door policy.
Brentano	Gerloff	Military budgets from 1872, etc., for Germany.
Kinley	Luitwieler	Effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Bolivia.
Kinley	Rowe	Effect of the European conflict on trade, industry and finance in Peru and Chile.
Kinley	Roorbach	The effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Venezuela.
Kinley	Wheless	The effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.
Brentano	Möller	Effects of war, with reference to Germany.
Borel	Geering	Influence of the war of 1870-71 on Switzerland.
Kinley	Glasson	Federal military pensions in the United States.
Kinley	Cuevas	The industrial and commercial development and policy of Chile with special reference to commercial relations with and policy towards other American countries.
		Preliminary Economic Studies of the War.
		(See page 106 for titles and authors.)



## V

Works in process of translation, or waiting to be translated:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Philippovich	Fellner	Ratio between the total income of the Austrian and Hungarian population and the total expenditure on armaments.
Kinley	Ramirez Fontecha	The economic conditions and effects of foreign financial concessions in Honduras.
Gide	Coquet	The advantage in standardizing the legislations of the different countries with regard to the repression of false indications of origin.

## VI

Works completed and in hands of members of Committee of Research:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Philippovich	Slokar	Influence of the national idea and of the economic protective policy of Austria-Hungary on the relation between the monarchy and the Balkan States.
Philippovich	von Kesslitz	Financial burdens caused by armaments in recent times in Austria-Hungary.
Westergaard	Dumas	Losses of life as a result of war.

## VII

Works overdue and probably delayed by the war:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Brentano	Kuczynski	Influence of changes in the occupations of a people upon the composition and efficiency of armies, etc.
Philippovich	Stiassney	War loans in Austria, etc.
Luzzatti	Luzzatti	Protectionist system in its relations with the great armaments, etc.
Westergaard	Cohn	Effects of war on the economy of the Scandinavian countries.
Westergaard	Jensen	Production of the Scandinavian countries.
von Wieser	Perels	Development of the international relations of the Austrian cotton trade.
von Wieser	Grunwald	Taxation laws as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics.
von Wieser	von Mises	International relations of Austrian manufacturers.
von Wieser	Steinitzer	Austrian money market as influenced by the money markets of the world.
von Wieser	Klofetz	Austrian transport system as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics.
von Wieser	Bartsch	Austrian civil law as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics.
von Wieser	Weiss	Development of the international relations of the Austrian sugar trade.
von Wieser	Deutsch	Austrian labor and laborers and the international relations pertaining thereto.
von Wieser	Pribram	International relations of Austrian economics in the first part of the nineteenth century.
La Fontaine	Marinus	Unifying effects of the improvement and extension of all means of communication.
La Fontaine	de Greef	Unifying influences of international life under the title "La paix, ses conditions et son organisation."
von Wieser	Schüller and Cökörac	Protectionist policy in Austria, its origin and development.
von Wieser	Drucker	Development of the international relations of the Austrian iron trade.
Philippovich	Drachovsky	General classification of war loans.
von Wieser	Crombach	Development of the international relations of the Austrian petroleum trade.

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Borel	Steiger	Financial, economic and moral influences of the military system in Switzerland.
Gide	Delaisi	Attitude of anarchists and syndicalists toward war and armaments.
Borel	Geering	Economic development of Switzerland as a neutral state.
Philippovich	Ferrero	General considerations of the causes of wars in recent times.
Philippovich	Kaßmann	Rivalry among the great European powers with regard to capital investments in Turkey.
Greven	Tasman	Military conditions in the Netherlands.
Borel	Landmann	War loans in neutral countries; their importance and their influence on wars in modern times; Switzerland.
Westergaard	Ehrlich	The effects of the Balkan war in sociological and judicial aspects, with special regard to Albania.
Gide	de Lapradelle	Effects of wars upon the world's supply of provisions and raw materials—France.
Gide	Lescure	The banks in time of war—France.
Greven	Nieboer	The influence of Dutch rule upon the economic and social life of the natives in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century.
Gide	Picard	The military budgets in France since 1872.
Brentano	Gerloff	Marine budgets from 1872. The burden of armaments in recent times; the German Empire.
Brentano	Landsberg	Economic effects of withdrawing young men from industrial pursuits into the army and navy, especially mercenary troops.
Philippovich	Tobisch	Technical development of the industries of war; their present state and their effect on the promotion and encouraging of other industries, in Austria-Hungary.
von Wieser	Priester and Stransky	The development of the international relations of the Austrian petroleum trade.
Paish	Miss Hirst	The society of friends; war and peace.
Brentano	Bajkitsch	The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913.
Kinley	Sutton	The economic, social and political effects of granting concessions (industrial, mining, etc.), to foreigners, on the countries granting such concessions, and the influence thereof on international relations.
Reinsch	Chen Huang-Chang	Chinese theory in regard to war and peace.

## VIII

Works unfinished and delayed indefinitely because of the war:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Philippovich	Neurath	The effects of the Balkan wars on Austria-Hungary, with special regard to Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Russia, Montenegro, Albania, Italy, Germany, Switzerland. Parts I and II.
Philippovich	Marek	History of Austrian war loans in the nineteenth century.
Philippovich	Neurath	War and order of life. The liquidity, productivity and rentability of the wealth of nations in case of war.
Westergaard	Neurath	Preliminary statistical studies in old Serbia.
Philippovich	Slokar	Annexation of Bosnia; its causes and effects.
Westergaard	Bajkitsch	Statistical observations and investigations as to the losses of life in the last Balkan wars and as to the fluctuations of the civil population in consequence of the wars.
Johnson	Johnson	Attitude of the business classes of the United States toward war and peace.

## IX

Works under contract, not yet due:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date Due</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Kinley	Kellogg	On conclusion of war	Biological effects of the present war.
Kinley	Robertson	Jan. 1, 1919	The relations of the United States and Latin American nations, historically considered.
Kinley	Wei	Dec. 31, 1918	Concessions to foreign capitalists in China.
Hirst	John A. Hobson	Dec. 31, 1918	The effects of the war on production and distribution of wealth in Great Britain.
Hirst	Margaret E. Hirst	Dec. 31, 1918	The social and economic effects of the war in England with special reference to women and children.
Hirst	Mary Agnes Hamilton	Dec. 31, 1918	The extension of bureaucracy and of bureaucratic control during the war in England, and its after effects.
Hirst	George Young	Dec. 30, 1918	Economic policy and modern diplomacy.
Kinley	Antonio Ramirez Fontecha		Financial conditions and social, economic and political effects of foreign economic concessions in Costa Rica.
Kinley	Edward Porritt		The fiscal freedom of Canada and the other British Dominions.
Greven	Miss E. C. Van Dorp		The different commercial policies and the effect of these policies on the foreign trade and mutual relations of states.
Greven	M. J. van der Flier		The costs of the present war for the Netherlands, direct and indirect, and its effects on the condition of the several classes of the people.

## X

Authorized works, but contracts not yet received:

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date Due</i>	<i>Subject</i>
Gide	M. Girault	Jan. 1, 1920	De la diminution de la population européenne par suite de la guerre et ses conséquences.
Gide	Théodore Ruyssen		Le rôle principe des nationalités dans la guerre européenne.
Gide	M. Hoschilles		La poussée des nations vers la mer comme cause économique des guerres.
Gide	C. H. Gide		La hausse du prix en guerre et les moyens employés pour l'enrayer.
Pantaleoni	Emanuele Sella		Internal activities of governments brought about by the war and the effects they produce during the war, as well as those which they may be expected to produce if they prolong themselves into a time of peace.
Pantaleoni	Giulo Borgatta		The economic action of the state in Italy during the war and its consequences.
Luzzatti	Luigi Luzzatti		1. The financial budget of Italy before, during and after the war. 2. The economic condition of Italy and its capacity to support war's expenses. 3. The comparison of financial and economic conditions of Italy with other belligerent states. 4. The accords of financial and economic character between allies after the war.
Westergaard	Prof. Hechsler		The commercial history of Europe during the wars in the beginning of the nineteenth century.
Westergaard	Dr. Gösta Bagge		Socialism or quasi-socialism in modern European states (principally Scandinavian countries) in consequence of the present world conflict.



DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW



REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR



## DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

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#### TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The nature and extent of the activities of the Division of International Law during the past year are set forth in the report which the undersigned, as its Director, has the honor to present to the Trustees.

It will be observed that these activities have been confined to completing the work which could not well be stopped, such as publications in an advanced state of preparation, and to undertaking a limited number of new publications which seem especially useful at the present time, or in the near future, and such other enterprises as seemed appropriate and helpful under existing conditions.

In previous reports, the Director has ventured an expression of opinion regarding the international situation as he conceived it to be at the date of his report, and he would do so at the present time, were it not for the fact of his service in the army, which makes it seem inappropriate to express opinions on international affairs, and of his detail to the Department of State in order to undertake a special assignment in connection with international affairs, which would make an expression of opinion, under the circumstances, injudicious, even if permissible.

#### Work Undertaken for the Department of State

The declaration by the Congress on April 6, 1917, of the existence of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, suggested the propriety of curtailing the activities of the Division, inasmuch as some of them might seem to be inconsistent with a state of war, and prudence dictated the husbanding of resources thus liberated for such a time as they might be needed and could be more effectively used than at the present time. The Director believed that the government might well avail itself of the Division of International Law, and thought it would in due time do so, and while work deemed essential was not neglected or new projects rejected, it was, nevertheless, felt advisable to prepare for the opportunity which might present itself, and which actually has presented itself, of rendering service to the government, and of becoming, as it were, an agency of the government.

At the meeting of the Trustees held on April 19, 1917, it was resolved, "that the Endowment offers to the government the services of its Division of International Law, its personnel, and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business, incident to the war."

On April 21, 1917, the Secretary communicated the action of the Trustees to the Secretary of State, offering the services of the Division of International Law, to the Department of State.

On the 26th of the month, Secretary Lansing accepted the offer, expressing "the very sincere thanks of the government for the generous offer of the Board of Trustees," and requested the Secretary to "convey to the Board of Trustees the appreciation of the government of their patriotic action in making the offer of service, and the gratification which it gives me to accept it."

The first request which the Secretary of State made of the Division of International Law was to translate and to publish in convenient form the entire text of the proceedings of the two Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. This is a very large order, inasmuch as the proceedings fill four volumes the size of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and approximately eleven hundred pages each. However, great progress has been made with the work, although the end is not yet in sight.

While it would be inadvisable, if indeed it were possible, to go into details, and to state the exact nature and extent of the various other projects which the Division is carrying through under the direction of the Secretary of State, it will suffice to say that the Division of International Law is performing the very purpose for which it was created, but upon a larger and more impressive scale than could possibly have entered into the minds of the Trustees when the Endowment was created, and of the members of the Executive Committee when the Division of International Law was organized.

### Central American Court of Justice

A convention to establish the Central American Court of Justice, under the auspices of Mexico and the United States, was concluded on December 20, 1907, by delegates of the five Central American States, meeting in the so-called Peace Conference of Washington.

In accordance with the terms of this convention, the Court was established at San José, Costa Rica, being the first actual International Court of Justice in existence. The convention creating it was to continue in force for a period of ten years, dated from the last ratification thereof; at the end of which time it would terminate, unless renewed for a like period of ten years.

During its short career, the Court prevented the outbreak of war at least on one occasion, if not on more than one; but its existence has been threatened by the refusal of one of the contracting parties to accept a decision in which it was a party defendant.

Without going into details, it is sufficient for present purposes to state that the Court found, in its decree of September 30, 1916, that the

Government of Nicaragua has violated, to the injury of Costa Rica, the rights granted to the latter by the Cañas-Jerez Treaty of Limits of April fifteen, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight; by the Cleveland Award of March twenty-



second, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, and by the Central American Treaty of Peace and Amity of December twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven.

The United States concluded with Nicaragua on August 5, 1914, a treaty by virtue of which it obtained a right to a canal route through Nicaragua, which treaty Costa Rica claimed could not properly be made without its consent, and the United States, because of this, has been put in the embarrassing position of claiming a right under a treaty which Costa Rica maintained Nicaragua could not make with the United States, because of the treaty of April 15, 1858, between the two countries, and the Cleveland Award of March 22, 1888, in favor of the contention of Costa Rica.

On the principle of *noblesse oblige*, not a few well-informed people were of the opinion that the United States could not afford to accept a benefit under such circumstances, that it should regard and accept the award of the Court, and advise Nicaragua to do the same, and take such action in the premises as was necessary to adjust the difficulty.

The Director, upon receiving an informal request from the Department of State that the Endowment, whose President as Secretary of State when the Court came into existence was largely responsible for its creation, and whose founder donated the building for the Court's home, and generously replaced it when it was destroyed by an earthquake, assist in preserving the Court from threatened dissolution by the refusal of the contracting states to renew the convention upon its expiration on December 20, 1917, laid the matter before the Executive Committee October 8, 1917. A subcommittee was appointed to consider the question, and at the meeting of the Executive Committee on November 1, 1917, it was decided to request the American Institute of International Law to send a communication to the society of international law in each of the Central American countries urging them to take such steps as in their opinion they could properly take to secure the renewal of the treaty providing for the Court, and that the communication from the Institute to the societies should state it to be its understanding that the Government of the United States bows to the decision of the Court. In accordance with this direction on the part of the Executive Committee, the proper officers of the American Institute of International Law were requested to prepare such a communication, and it has been prepared and sent.<sup>1</sup>

It is proper to state, in this connection, that the American Institute of International Law, at its session in Habana, in January, 1917, had considered this question and took action in its behalf, as appears from the following extract from the "Final Act" of the session:

On motion of Messrs. Luis Anderson and José Matos, the Institute unanimously adopted a vote of sympathy to the Central American Court of Justice, the first Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice in the world, created

<sup>1</sup> In view of the importance of the communication and the fact that it was sent at the request of the Endowment, the text of it is printed as an appendix to this report, page 174.

by the convention concluded on December 20, 1907, among the Republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, recommending its maintenance and prestige, which are guarantees of peace among the Central American Republics.

A vote of appreciation was also accorded to Dr. Luis Anderson and Dr. Antonio Batres Jáuregui, two distinguished charter members of the Institute, who subscribed as plenipotentiaries of their respective countries the convention creating the said Court.

The matter was considered so important that the resolution was cabled to the governments of the five republics, and to the Court itself, and very courteous and satisfactory answers were received from each.<sup>1</sup>

### Aid to the Study and Teaching of International Law

#### FELLOWSHIPS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Pursuant to the authorization of the Executive Committee and the Board of Trustees, the Division of International Law offered for the academic year 1917-18 ten fellowships in international law under the regulations contained in the Director's report for last year.<sup>2</sup> According to these regulations, five fellowships were awarded to graduate students holding the equivalent of a bachelor's degree, and five fellowships to teachers of international law or related subjects who had had at least one year of previous teaching or its equivalent in practical experience. A stipend of \$750 was attached to the former, and of \$1,000 to the latter.

Some difficulty was experienced in filling the awards because of the entry of the United States into the war between the time when the applications were received and the awards rendered. Some of the successful candidates surrendered the awards in order to enter the military service of the United States. The Committee on Awards, however, had wisely selected a number of alternates, so that eventually the full number of fellows was secured.

The candidates finally selected together with the institutions from which appointed were as follows:

#### *Students' Fellowships:*

Carlyle Reginald Barnett, of Columbia University.

Charles Hann, Jr., of Columbia University.

John Eugene Harley, of the University of Southern California.

Michio Kozaki, of Oberlin College.

John McDonald Pffiffer, of the State University of Iowa.

#### *Teachers' Fellowships:*

William Seal Carpenter, of Princeton University.

Edwin DeWitt Dickinson, of Dartmouth College.

Pitman Benjamin Potter, of Harvard University.

Howard Clifton Smith, of the University of Michigan.

Donald Leroy Stone, of Princeton University.

<sup>1</sup> The efforts to preserve the Court have proved futile, and since this report was written the Court has closed its doors.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 107.

The awards were made from among some forty applications by a committee composed of educators in no way connected, either directly or indirectly, with the Endowment. According to the regulations adopted by the committee, a fellowship is granted to a student to pursue courses only at an institution other than that at which he had been studying for the year preceding, unless in exceptional cases in the discretion of the Committee on Awards. Each applicant was allowed to express his preference for the institution at which he desired to pursue his studies under the fellowship, if awarded; but these preferences were stated in sealed envelopes, which were not opened until after the awards had been made by the Committee on Awards. These precautions were taken for the obvious purpose of avoiding any criticism whatever on the ground that candidates had been selected or awards made for reasons other than the individual merits of the candidates.

Under the regulations governing the fellowships, each fellow must report to the Committee on Fellowships twice during the year, the first report to be made on or before March 1. From these semi-annual reports the following information regarding the work being done under the present fellowships is submitted for the information of the Trustees:

<i>Fellow and Institution at which Studying.</i>	<i>Courses Pursued.</i>	<i>Special Research for Thesis.</i>
Carlyle R. Barnett, Yale University.	International law. Conflict of laws. Roman law.	The status of enemy aliens on the outbreak of war.
William S. Carpenter, University of Pennsylvania.	Relations between United States and Caribbean countries. Collection of data bearing on Latin American relations.	The United States and armed neutrality.
Edwin D. Dickinson, Harvard University.	International law. Roman law.	The equality of states in international law.
Charles Hann, Jr., Harvard University.		
J. E. Harley, Harvard University.	International law. Roman law. Historical research.	Plans of peace beginning with Crucé's plan, 1623, up to the present time, showing the influence of one upon the other, and laying stress upon the International Court of Justice.
Michio Kozaki, Columbia University.	International law. History of European diplomacy. Comparative politics. Constitutional law.	The interests of Japan in the Pacific.
John M. Pfiffner, Columbia University.	International law. Constitutional development of the United States. History of European diplomacy. Latin America and the United States.	Distinctive American developments of international law.

<i>Fellow and Institution at which Studying.</i>	<i>Courses Pursued.</i>	<i>Special Research for Thesis.</i>
Pitman B. Potter, Harvard University.	International law. History (Bismarck's foreign policy).	Freedom of the seas.
Howard C. Smith, Columbia University.	International law. History of diplomacy. Roman law.	Philosophical basis of international law and the fundamental rights of states.
Donald L. Stone, École Libre de Sciences Politiques, Paris, France.	Diplomatic history. International law. Central and oriental European ethnology.	Alsace-Lorraine question.

As has been often repeated in reports to the Trustees, one of the most urgent needs for the proper development of international law is the creation of a corps of specially trained men to teach it and expound its principles. The Director believes that a more useful expenditure of the Endowment's funds could not be made than in maintaining these fellowships which are intended to provide such a trained corps of experts in the course of a few years. An examination of the subjects which the present fellows have voluntarily selected for special research shows an active interest in some of the most important questions of the day, and the resulting theses may in themselves be well worth the support which the Endowment is giving to their work. Some of them are applicants for a continuance of the fellowship for another year, and where their work at the end of the year warrants it, the Committee on Fellowships is desirous of granting their requests.

It is not believed that more than five of these fellowships will need to be continued. The Committee on Fellowships also recommends that an additional ten fellowships be awarded for the academic year 1918-19, upon the same terms as those awarded last year. The Director heartily concurs in these recommendations, and the Executive Committee has approved an item in next year's estimates of appropriations which, if voted by the Trustees, will enable the Division to continue five of the present fellowships and add the desired ten new ones for next year.

#### SUMMER CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL LAW

In connection with the discussion in his last report regarding the teaching of international law in American institutions of learning,<sup>1</sup> the Director referred to a summer school or conference of international law which had been suggested in connection with the consideration of this subject by a committee of the American Society of International Law. Acting upon the recommendations of this committee, the Executive Committee of the Endowment provided funds for holding such a conference during the summer of 1917. It was subsequently found impracticable to make proper arrangements for the meeting and it had to be abandoned.

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 106.

### Lecture Tour of Doctor Alejandro Alvarez

The lecture tour of American institutions of learning by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, the eminent Chilean jurisconsult and Secretary General of the American Institute of International Law, which was initiated last year among leading universities of the east, northwest, and south,<sup>1</sup> has been continued upon a somewhat larger scale during the past year. On November 15, 1917, Dr. Alvarez started on a tour upon which he was scheduled to lecture before fifteen leading universities in the middle west, the Pacific coast, and the southwest. When completed Dr. Alvarez will have lectured in all before twenty-eight of the principal American educational institutions. At the date of the present writing the tour has been conducted without an interruption of any kind and there remains but one more university to visit in order successfully to complete the schedule. The remaining visit will be made by the time this report reaches the hands of the Trustees.

Dr. Alvarez selected as the subjects of his lectures upon the present tour the following titles:

1. The Rôle and Influence of the American Continent in the Reconstruction of International Law.
2. The Duty of the Universities of our Continent to Collaborate in the Reconstruction of the Political and Social Sciences.
3. Necessity of Unifying the Anglo-American and the Latin American Schools of International Law and of Creating a Pan American School.
4. The New Monroe Doctrine and American Public Law.

Dr. Alvarez also treated other subjects in the field of the political sciences, such as (1) "New Tendencies of Democracy, Especially on our Continent"; (2) "Necessity of Adopting a New Monetary System"; (3) "Reasons for Germany's Commercial Success in South America," etc.

The schedule arranged for him with information regarding the attendance at most of the lectures is given below:

*University of Pittsburgh:* Two lectures were delivered before 150 students on November 15 and 16, 1917. An additional address was made in the auditorium of the university before 600 students on the 15th, and a second extra address was delivered on the 16th before 30 professors at a meeting of the Association of the Eastern Universities.

*Ohio State University:* Three lectures were delivered at this university on November 21, 22 and 23, 1917, before an audience of about 100, including students and professors of the university and members of the faculty. A special lecture was delivered before the students in the course on commercial policy.

*Oberlin College:* Lectures were delivered at this university on November 26, 27 and 28, 1917, before about 100 students and professors. A special lecture was delivered before the students in international law.

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, pages 113-115.

*Indiana University:* Four lectures in all were given by Dr. Alvarez at this institution on December 5 and 6, 1917, two being given before classes in political science and international law, one in the university auditorium at a reception tendered to Dr. Alvarez by the Scientific Club, the Political Science Club, and the Cosmopolitan Club, and the fourth before students on economic policy.

*University of Illinois:* A series of three lectures was delivered on December 10, 12 and 14, 1917. Addresses were also made before the Cosmopolitan Club on December 13 and the University Club during the same week. He also made a speech at the reception given in his honor by the Spanish Club.

*University of Minnesota:* Dr. Alvarez spent the Christmas holiday season in Chicago, and resumed his tour at the University of Minnesota during the week of January 7, 1918. Two lectures were delivered on January 8, and a third on January 9, before audiences of about 300 students and professors. A fourth address was delivered before the Faculty Club of the university.

*University of Iowa:* At this institution three lectures were delivered before large audiences composed of students and professors on January 16, 17, and 18, 1918. A fourth lecture was delivered before the Research Club composed of university professors, and a fifth one before the primary school.

*University of Nebraska:* A series of three lectures beginning on January 22 was delivered at the State University, including the law students, the commerce students, and a convocation of the students and faculty.

*University of Kansas:* Owing to the fact that the tour of Dr. Alvarez took him through Kansas during the period when the University of Kansas was holding its examinations, it is regretted that it was not practicable for him to lecture at this university.

*University of Colorado:* Two lectures were delivered at the University of Colorado, one on February 4 before the University Scientific Association, and the second on February 5 before the university students. Both lectures, Dr. Alvarez states, were well attended by professors and students.

*University of Washington:* A course of three lectures was delivered on February 11, 13, and 15 before all-university assemblies. In addition to the three lectures, three additional speeches were delivered, one before the College Club, the second before the Faculty Club, and the third before the Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club which was attended by 300 members, including the delegates in attendance upon the Northwest Merchants' Convention.

*University of Oregon:* Three lectures were delivered before students and professors at this university on February 19; on the following day a third lecture was given before a university assembly in the presence of more than 600 students and professors.

*University of California:* Lectures were delivered before audiences composed of students and professors on February 25, February 28 and March 1, 1918. The last lecture was delivered before an assembly of about 3,000 students. Dr. Alvarez also delivered a speech at a reception given in his honor by the Spanish Club of the university.

*Leland Stanford Junior University:* Lectures were delivered at this institution on March 4, 6 and 8 before well attended audiences composed of students of history and law, professors, and the interested public. Dr. Alvarez also delivered a speech in Spanish at a reception given in his honor by the Spanish Club.

*University of Southern California:* During the week of March 11, 1918, Dr. Alvarez delivered six lectures and made three speeches in the course of his visit at the University of Southern California. On the mornings of March 12, 13 and 14 he lectured in the College of Liberal Arts before the President of the University, the Dean of the College, the faculty and about 250 students in economics, sociology and political science. On the afternoons of the same days he lectured in the College of Law before the Dean, professors and about 100 law students. His speeches were delivered before the Celtic Club, the Spanish Club and the Historical Club, the latter of which gave a reception in honor of the lecturer.

<sup>1</sup>*University of Texas:* Three lectures were delivered at this university on March 21, 22 and 23 before audiences composed of professors and students. He also delivered one lecture in Spanish.

Dr. Alvarez is very well known in the universities of America by his book, *American International Law (Le Droit international américain)* and by his studies in civil law and legal science, which have been translated into English in Vol. IX, *Select Essays*, of the Philosophical Legal Series, and Vol. XI, *The Evolution of Law in the Nineteenth Century*, of the Legal Historical Series, both published for the Association of Law Schools of the Universities of the United States.

At every city that Dr. Alvarez has visited his presence has attracted much public attention, and his lectures have uniformly received most favorable comment in the public press. A reprint of extracts from these comments would no doubt be gratifying, but would unduly lengthen the contents of this report. It is hoped that when the lecture tour is finished a complete report of Dr. Alvarez's two trips may be printed and circulated.

Dr. Alvarez also made a most favorable impression upon the faculties of the universities which he has visited. The following extracts are typical of the serious impression which his visits have made upon those with whom he has come in contact:

*Letter from Professor Karl F. Geiser, of the Department of Political Science, Oberlin College.*

OBERLIN, OHIO,  
December 3, 1917.

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. SCOTT:

Permit me now to thank you for sending to us Dr. Alvarez who delivered three lectures here to an audience averaging about one hundred each day. Dr. Alvarez created a very favorable impression and stimulated a great interest in the subject both among the students and the faculty. I need not of course tell you that Dr. Alvarez is a profound student and clear thinker on international relations, but you may be interested to know that he has impressed

<sup>1</sup>Addenda.

us all with the conviction of his force and power. Personally I do not hesitate to say that he has compelled my absolute agreement with his views—and they are new views—and that I consider him one of the sanest, and most scholarly men in this field that I have ever had the pleasure of meeting. You are doing a great service to the future of international law and to America in sending him on this mission.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) KARL F. GEISER.

*Letter from Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Department of Political Science,  
State University of Iowa.*

January 18, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SCOTT:

It gives me great pleasure to report that Dr. Alejandro Alvarez visited the University of Iowa this week, and while here delivered three lectures and two extra addresses. We were all very much pleased with Dr. Alvarez personally and with his lectures and addresses. I am sure that both the instructional staff and the students of the University have derived much benefit and inspiration from his visit.

On behalf of the State University of Iowa, I wish to thank you for sending Dr. Alvarez to us this year.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH.

*Letter from Professor Karl W. Onthank, University of Oregon.*

February 26, 1918.

MR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Director  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
2 Jackson Place,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

Before President Campbell left for the east a few days ago he asked me to write you and express to you our hearty appreciation of your kindness in sending to us recently Dr. Alejandro Alvarez. Dr. Alvarez delivered four addresses at the University including an address to our usual weekly assembly of faculty and students of the University. He made a splendid impression here both because of his amiable personality and his high degree of scholarship. We feel sure that the work he is doing is very effective in producing friendly relations between the two American continents. That result certainly was promoted by his visit at the University.

Thanking you again for your courtesy in arranging for his visit here and trusting when other gentlemen of Dr. Alvarez's calibre are available you will again favor us, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) KARL W. ONTHANK,  
Secretary.

*Letter from President George F. Bovard, of the University of Southern California.*

March 15, 1918.

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
2 Jackson Place,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. SCOTT:

You have placed the University of Southern California under very great obligations by sending to us Dr. Alvarez. He has just completed his course of lectures at the University,



giving excellent satisfaction in every particular. He has such a fine personality that he immediately won the love and appreciation of our students and faculty.

He lectured twice each of the three days. At the College of Liberal Arts he had more than two hundred fifty in attendance and at the Law School about one hundred. I am sure his lectures have intensified our interest in South America. We should be very glad to have him come to us again at any time that it may be possible.

Again thanking you on behalf of the University, I am

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) GEORGE F. BOVARD,

*President.*

This is the first time that a Latin American has been designated as exchange professor to expound Latin American ideas in the universities of the United States. A knowledge of Latin American doctrines will be of the greatest utility, for not only will it aid in preventing future misunderstandings between the two groups of countries on our continent—the Anglo-American and the Latin American—but it will strengthen the intellectual and political bonds uniting the nations of our hemisphere.

In his lectures at these universities, Dr. Alvarez called particular attention to the events of the day and the transformation which is taking place in institutions and ideas. He likened the present time to the period of the Renaissance and of the French Revolution, from the point of view of the fundamental changes that are in progress in political, economic, and international institutions and doctrines. He dwelt upon the necessity, indeed the duty, of the universities of our continent to begin at once to study these changes and new points of view in the light of the experience of the past century, the lessons learned from the present war, and the aspirations of public opinion in Europe and America. Dr. Alvarez emphasized the fact that the universities must prepare and guide public opinion, in order to make it easier for the governments to introduce the needed reforms.

From the international point of view, which was the point of view his lectures especially treated, Dr. Alvarez insisted upon the necessity of the universities of our continent making a careful study of the main principles of international law, subjecting them to penetrating criticism in order to make them accord with the new situation, and of carefully investigating the new problems that have already arisen or that may arise in the international life of the future, and with regard to which there are not yet any established theories or precedents. Finally, he laid special stress on the need of studying in the universities of the United States the points of view and theories of the Latin American countries, and *vice versa* in the Latin American universities, and, if possible, of making the theories of the two groups of countries uniform or of establishing clearly the differences that exist between them. If the universities of our continent will work together along all these lines, a Pan American School of International Law can be formed, which will assuredly exert a powerful influence upon the future development of our law.

## Other Work of the Division

## COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATIONS

This collection of all international arbitrations, under the supervision of Professor John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, is being carried forward steadily. While it is impossible at present for Professor Moore to have work done in the continental countries of Europe among the unpublished archives, the work that is being prosecuted in this country has been proceeded with, consisting in general of the examination of such collections as Dumont's *Corps Universel* and Rymer's *Foedera*, and, in particular, the abundant manuscript records of arbitration commissions preserved in the Department of State at Washington. The copying of the last mentioned records was interrupted for a time last autumn, when the Department needed the floor space occupied by our copyists, but under new arrangements this work has been resumed.

The records copied during the last year in the Department are, in whole or in part, those of the Neapolitan Commission instituted by the convention of October 14, 1832, whereby the king of the Two Sicilies agreed to pay the United States 2,115,000 Neapolitan ducats in settlement of claims arising out of depredations on American vessels during Napoleonic wars, which commission rendered its awards in 1835; of the mixed commission under the convention between the United States and Costa Rica, signed July 2, 1860, for the settlement of claims of American citizens for personal injuries and damages to property, the commission rendering its decisions in 1862; of claims under the convention of April 11, 1839, with Mexico; records of the claims commission established under an agreement between the United States and Spain of February 12, 1871; and those of the mixed commission under the provisions of the convention signed November 25, 1862, between the United States and Ecuador, which in 1865 disposed of mutual claims of citizens of the two countries.

## AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE EMANCIPATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

The plan of this publication was stated in full in the Director's report for last year.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the arrangements made with Professor William R. Manning, Professor of Spanish American History in the University of Texas, he came to Washington on September 1, 1917, and was engaged upon the work up to March 1, 1918. In the interval between the time when the arrangements were made with him and the commencement of his work, an event took place which has seriously interfered with the completion of the work within the year which it was estimated it would take. The bulk of the documents desired for this collection are contained in the unpublished manuscripts in the Department of State, to which it is necessary to have access. Upon the entry of the United States into the war, the Department of State, very properly as a matter of good

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 127.

policy, closed its archives to the public, the Endowment included. Professor Manning has therefore been unable to obtain the original records necessary in his work for the Endowment.

The first six months of the year for which he was engaged have been used by him in making necessary searches for correspondence and other information contained in published documents in the Library of Congress and other accessible sources. All the work which could profitably be done along this line was finished on March 1, and the results carefully prepared for continuation at some future time.

It is planned to utilize the remaining six months of the year for which Professor Manning was engaged in having him complete and carry through to publication the collection of arbitration treaties and agreements of the countries of the western hemisphere, which the Division has so far been unable to publish because of difficulties incident to war conditions.<sup>1</sup>

#### COLLECTION OF AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE MONROE DOCTRINE

In his last annual report<sup>2</sup> the Director outlined two projects, one under the heading of "Latin American Expositions of the Monroe Doctrine" and the other, "Collection of American Statements Concerning the Monroe Doctrine," for the collection and publication of official and other authoritative statements on the Monroe Doctrine gathered from Latin American sources, of official papers concerning the doctrine which have been issued from time to time by the Government of the United States and the collection of the statements of accredited publicists in the United States, interpreting and defining and applying the doctrine. It turned out not to be practicable to begin work upon these projects during the year just closed, but the Director now feels that advantage should be taken of the presence of Dr. Alejandro Alvarez upon the completion of his lecture tour under the auspices of the Endowment to start work upon the collection of these documents and papers from Latin American sources.

It is not necessary to refer to the peculiar fitness of Dr. Alvarez for this work, being as he is a leading South American publicist and author on American international law and, for many years, a jurisconsult of the Chilean Foreign Office and counselor to its legations abroad. An item to enable the Division to start this work during the coming year has been approved by the Executive Committee and included in the estimates.

#### CHINESE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

On December 11, 1916, Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, then American Secretary of Legation at Peking, now at Tokio, submitted to the Director a proposal conditioned upon the approval of the Secretary of State for the publication of a

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 160.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1917, pages 128-129.

compilation of the documents determining and conditioning the relations of China with the other powers and their relations towards one another during the period beginning with the Sino-Japanese War. Upon the suggestion of the Director that such approval should be obtained before a formal proposal was submitted to the Executive Committee of the Endowment, Mr. MacMurray requested and obtained permission from the Department subject to the understanding that all manuscript should first be submitted to the latter for its approval. A formal proposal was then submitted by the Director with favorable recommendation at the meeting of May 22, 1917, and was approved by the Executive Committee, which by resolution authorized an arrangement with Mr. MacMurray and made an allotment for the publication from the appropriation for the ensuing year.

This project involves the reediting and publishing of the treaties, contracts and other international and quasi-international agreements entered into during the period since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 which determine the rights and obligations of the Chinese Government in relation to foreign nations and define the interrelation of those powers in respect to Chinese affairs. As showing the nature of the documents to be included in this publication Mr. MacMurray submitted a tentative list containing the various agreements that have been entered into by the Government of China with other governments and also with foreign corporations engaged in banking, mining, transportation, telegraphs, etc. In addition to the agreements themselves will appear important edicts, ordinances and regulations touching the affairs of China. The value of this publication both as an aid to those having to deal with matters relating to Chinese affairs, and as conducing to a better general understanding of Far Eastern questions, can not be overestimated. It will not only bring up to date such collections as have hitherto been published on this subject, particularly Rockhill's *Treaties and Conventions with and concerning China and Korea, 1894-1904*, and supplement thereto, both printed by the Government Printing Office, 1904, 1908, but will also contain many other special and private agreements which have been excluded from collections containing only strictly public documents. In fine, it will be as nearly an exhaustive collection as it is possible to make of the facts regarding the obligations that China has undertaken and that other powers have undertaken in regard to China during the past twenty years.

With respect to the size of this publication it is estimated that the number of principal documents will reach about 275, or about four times the number of documents contained in Rockhill's volumes. With the addition of a full index, to be prepared by a skilled specialist, and other incidental matter, the work will probably require two crown quarto volumes of nearly 1,000 pages each.

It is now expected that the completed manuscript will be on hand by next fall.

#### CLASSIC PROJECTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

As the Director pointed out last year,<sup>1</sup> there is reason to believe that a collection of what might be called the "Classic Projects of International Organization,"

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, pages 123-125.

using the term "classic" in a large and generous rather than in a restricted sense, would enable not only the curious to inform themselves, but the believers in international organization to profit by past difficulties in formulating their own plans. It would enable teachers of political science and of international relations to consider these matters in the classroom, as well as upon the platform, to the instruction of their students and to the edification of the public.

The desirability of this collection has long appealed to the Director for the reasons just stated, although he did not perhaps fully realize its necessity, until he received an altogether unsolicited and independent suggestion along the same line from the Director of the Endowment's Division of Intercourse and Education a little over a year ago. The importance and necessity of the plan is but increased with the passage of time, for there can be no doubt that as a consequence of the present war, attempts will be made at some form of union of nations. The plans of the past will therefore have a present interest and value, and the service to the public would justify the labor and expense involved in the collection and publication of the projects.

As indicative at once of the scope as well as the progress that has been made in the publication of this collection, those portions of the following works which bear upon the subject of international organization are now in type awaiting the necessary revision:

1. Pierre Dubois: *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (1305-1307).
2. Dante Alighieri: *De Monarchia* (1311).
3. Georg von Podebrad: *Traité d'Alliance et Confederation entre le Roy Louis XI, George Roy de Bohème et la Seigneurie de Venise, pour Resister au Turc* (1460-1463).
4. Emeric Crucé: *Le Nouveau Cynée* (1622).
5. Hugo Grotius: *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625).
6. *The Great Design of Henry IV, from the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully* (1638).
7. William Penn: *Plea for the Peace of Europe* (1693-1694).
8. Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre: *Projet pour Rendre la Paix Perpétuelle en Europe* (1712 or 1713).
9. Cardinal Giulio Alberoni: *Progetto per Ridurre l'Impero Turchesco alla Obedienza dei Principi Cristiani* (1736).
10. Jean Jacques Rousseau: An epitome of Abbé de Saint-Pierre's *Project for Perpetual Peace* (1756-1761).
11. Jean Jacques Rousseau: *Judgment on Perpetual Peace* (1756-1782).
12. Jeremy Bentham: *A Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace* (1786-1789).
13. Immanuel Kant: *Eternal Peace* (1795).
14. William Ladd: *An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms* (1840).
15. James Lorimer: *Scheme for the Organization of an International Government* (1877).
16. J. C. Bluntschli: *Die Organisation des Europäischen Staatenvereines* (1878-1879).

Besides these, there will probably be included in the volume the following projects, with possibly one or two additions:

1. Articles of the Swiss Confederation (1291).
2. The Union of Utrecht (1579).
3. Project of a General Treaty of the Swiss Confederation (1655).
4. Articles of Confederation of the United States of America (1777).
5. Constitution of the United States (1787).
6. The German Act of Confederation (1815).
7. The Holy Alliance (1815).
8. The Constitution of the German Empire (1871).
9. The Constitution of the Swiss Confederation (1874).

It is not intended, in fact it is well nigh physically impossible, if at all desirable, to include in this one volume all the schemes for international organization which have ever been proposed. This indeed would defeat the very purpose of the volume, because of the excessive amount of space required. However, it is intended to prefix to each project a statement, calling attention to its chief features and the difference between it and other projects, and to include for purposes of reference a survey and comparison of the projects as a whole.

This collection is well in hand and probably will be published before the summer, barring unforeseen circumstances and delays occasioned by the scarcity of printing material and labor.

#### MONOGRAPH ON PLEBISCITES

The right of "self-determination" by subject peoples and the populations of disputed territories has been conspicuously mentioned in connection with proposed peace terms whenever they have been put forward or discussed during the course of the present world war. The rock upon which the formula has always broken has been the definition of the term with respect to the time or manner in which the races or populations shall determine for themselves the government under which they prefer to live.

This right of "self-determination" is not a term invented in the futile and insincere negotiations which have taken place in the present war. Submissions to peoples of disputed territories of the choice of government by popular vote are matters of history. But, unfortunately, information concerning plebiscites is not easily obtainable, and the Director, in order to make such information accessible, has arranged for the collection of material and the publication of a monograph upon the subject of plebiscites proposed and actually carried out since the French Revolution. The monograph, which will include extracts from treaties and other original records, and historical notes, is now being prepared by Miss Sarah Wambaugh, of Boston, Massachusetts.

#### REVISED EDITION OF MADISON'S NOTES OF DEBATES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

It is known that James Madison was delegated by Virginia to the Constitutional Convention which met in the summer of 1787, in Philadelphia, and which

devised the Constitution forming that more perfect union under which the United States, the States, and the citizens of both have prospered and grown great. Indeed, posterity has not unjustly named Madison the "Father of the Constitution."

But great as is the gratitude which his countrymen owe him for his share in shaping the Constitution, the debt does not stop there, for he took notes of the debates from the first to the last day of the Convention, and these notes, published in 1840—4 years after his death—show the Constitution in the making, and form today, not merely the history of the Constitution, but the meaning to be ascribed to its provisions.

Without seeking to lessen the authority of *The Federalist*, or the service which its authors rendered to the Constitution, it is proper to say that these papers however valuable and indispensable, are an analysis, exposition and justification of the Constitution, by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, deeply interested in its ratification; whereas, the notes were the daily records of the Convention and as such, are, it is believed, even more convincing an analysis, exposition and justification of the Constitution than *The Federalist*, which may be considered as the professional brief of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, for the Constitution.

The importance which Mr. Madison attached to a record of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention; of the pains which he took to report them faithfully; and of the results which his industry achieved, are stated by himself in a paper which he drafted to serve as a preface to the debates in the Convention, and which, unfortunately, lacks his final revision.

As to the importance of the Convention, he says:

The curiosity I had felt during my researches into the History of the most distinguished Confederacies, particularly those of antiquity, and the deficiency I found in the means of satisfying it more especially in what related to the process, the principles—the reasons, & the anticipations, which prevailed in the formation of them, determined me to preserve as far as I could an exact account of what might pass in the Convention whilst executing its trust, with the magnitude of which I was duly impressed, as I was with the gratification promised to future curiosity by an authentic exhibition of the objects, the opinion & the reasonings from which the new System of Govt. was to receive its peculiar structure & organization. Nor was I unaware of the value of such a contribution to the fund of materials for the History of a Constitution on which would be staked the happiness of a young people great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of Liberty throughout the world.

As to the pains which he took to secure accuracy, he writes:

In pursuance of the task I had assumed I chose a seat in front of the presiding member (Washington), with the other members, on my right & left hand. In this favorable position for hearing all that passed, I noted in terms legible & in abbreviations & marks intelligible to myself what was read from the Chair or spoken by the members; and losing not a moment unnecessarily between the adjournment & reassembling of the Convention

I was enabled to write out my daily notes during the session or within a few finishing days after its close in the extent and form preserved in my own hand on my files.

In the labor and correctness of this I was not a little aided by practice, and by a familiarity with the style and the train of observation and reasoning which characterized the principal speakers. It happened, also, that I was not absent a single day, nor more than a casual fraction of an hour in any day, so that I could not have lost a single speech, unless a very short one.

As to the result:

It may be proper to remark, that, with a very few exceptions, the speeches were neither furnished, nor revised, nor sanctioned, by the speakers, but written out from my notes, aided by the freshness of my recollections. A further remark may be proper, that views of the subject might occasionally be presented, in the speeches and proceedings, with a latent reference to a compromise on some middle ground, by mutual concessions. The exceptions alluded to were,—first, the sketch furnished by Mr. Randolph of his speech on the introduction of his propositions, on the twenty-ninth day of May; secondly, the speech of Mr. Hamilton, who happened to call on me when putting the last hand to it, and who acknowledged its fidelity, without suggesting more than a very few verbal alterations which were made; thirdly, the speech of Gouverneur Morris on the second day of May (July), which was communicated to him on a like occasion, and who acquiesced in it without even a verbal change. The correctness of his language and the distinctness of his enunciation were particularly favorable to a reporter. The speeches of Doctor Franklin, excepting a few brief ones, were copied from the written ones read to the Convention by his colleague, Mr. Wilson, it being inconvenient to the Doctor to remain long on his feet.

If the debates were only to be considered as the records of the Constitutional Convention, the proposal would not be made to issue them, even although the single volume in which they will appear would make them handier than Mr. Gaillard Hunt's two volume edition, or Professor Farrand's elaborate and authoritative compilation of the Records of the Federal Convention, of which the debates naturally form the principal part.

The truth is—which appears to be overlooked—that the Convention was constitutional merely in that it devised a Constitution for the States. It was, in reality, a conference of thirteen States of the western hemisphere, in which the States were represented by delegates especially appointed for this purpose, to revise the Articles of Confederation, in which the States voted as units, and the draft of the Constitution as an international convention was submitted to the States, for their adoption and ratification.

In confirmation of the international aspect of the Convention, the second of the Articles of Confederation, under which the States then existed, is quoted, as follows:

Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independency, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.



And the incidents of an international conference were present, of which three may be mentioned from Madison's Debates, not merely because they are interesting, but as showing the difficulties which the good will, intelligence, and ripe wisdom overcame, producing a Constitution vesting the Government of the Union with sovereign powers, and reserving to the States the powers not granted, so that Chief Justice Marshall could say, as he did in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* (4 Wheaton, 316):

In America, the powers of sovereignty are divided between the Government of the Union and those of the States. They are each sovereign with respect to the objects committed to it, and neither sovereign with respect to the objects committed to the other.

The first incident is thus recounted by Madison:

Previous to the arrival of a majority of the States, the rule by which they ought to vote in the Convention had been made a subject of conversation among the members present. It was pressed by Gouverneur Morris and favored by Robert Morris and others from Pennsylvania, that the large States should unite in firmly refusing to the small States an equal vote, as unreasonable, and as enabling the small States to negative every good system of Government, which must, in the nature of things, be founded on a violation of that equality. The members from Virginia, conceiving that such an attempt might beget fatal altercations between the large and small States, and that it would be easier to prevail on the latter, in the course of the deliberations, to give up their equality for the sake of an effective Government, than on taking the field of discussion to disarm themselves of the right and thereby throw themselves on the mercy of the larger States, discountenanced and stifled the project.

The second incident, contained in some remarks of John Dickinson made to Madison and recorded by him shows the danger with which the attempt was fraught:

You see the consequence of pushing things too far. Some of the members from the small States wish for two branches in the General Legislature, and are friends to a good National Government; but we would sooner submit to foreign power, than submit to be deprived of an equality of suffrage in both branches of the legislature, and thereby be thrown under the domination of the large States.

The third incident shows the fate of the large States at an international conference where the principle of equality is recognized and applied, and exhibits Gouverneur Morris on the closing day but one of the session, amending the proposed draft of the Constitution so as to safeguard that very equality of which he had hoped to deprive the smaller States, thus:

Mr. Govr. Morris moved to annex a further proviso—"that no State, without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

This motion being dictated by the circulating murmurs of the small States was agreed to without debate, no one opposing it, or on the question, saying no.

It may be said in this connection that John Dickinson was so pleased with the Constitution as ultimately drafted, resting as it did the division of sovereign powers between the Government of the Union and the States composing it upon the plane of equality, that he left to posterity the following note, in his own handwriting:

In the Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, I proposed the establishment of that branch (the Senate), with an equal representation therein of every State—assenting in consideration of such a provision to the establishment of the other branch, on another principle.

The Convention was, indeed, wiser than its wisest members.

In view of the widespread feeling that the society of nations must assume some definite organization, or that it must become conscious of its existence and of its rights and duties, it is believed by the Director that Madison's Debates, the one record of the one successful experiment of Federation, should be issued in handy form, called to the attention of the leaders of thought, and put into their hands, in order that the experience of these United States may not be lost upon the members of an international conference which may meet in the near future and be called upon to consider such matters; in order that the difficulties standing in the way may be estimated at their true worth; and that the spirit of compromise and concession required in an undertaking of this kind may enter into its deliberations, even if cooperation instead of confederation is the desideratum.

With the approval of the Executive Committee, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, who is an expert on the life and writings of Madison, and who has, himself, prepared an admirable edition of the Debates in two volumes, has undertaken to prepare a one volume edition of Madison's notes, reproducing accurately the original manuscript of the Debates deposited in the Department of State as finally revised and corrected by Madison. The text of it will be unencumbered with notes, although it will be preceded by a brief introduction showing the international importance of the Debates, and a brief editorial note furnishing the reader with the information which the editor believes should be laid before him.

### The Classics of International Law

The proposal of the project of republishing the Classics of International Law, the progress of the work under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and the subsequent transfer of the project from the Carnegie Institution to the Carnegie Endowment are matters which have been recorded in previous reports of the Division of International Law.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it is not necessary to repeat the details which resulted in the appearance of the following works under the imprint of the Carnegie Institution of Washington:

<sup>1</sup> Year Book for 1913-14, pages 169-171; 1915, pages 155-158; 1916, pages 169-170; and 1917, pages 102-106 and 157-160. In the last named place is reprinted the letter of the Director of the Division of International Law to Dr. Robert S. Woodward, President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, outlining the project.

1. Ayala, Balthazar: *De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari*.
2. Rachel, Samuel: *De Jure Naturae et Gentium Dissertationes*.
3. Textor, Johann Wolfgang: *Synopsis Juris Gentium*.
4. Vattel, Emer de: *Le Droit des Gens*.
5. Zouche, Richard: *Juris et Judicii Feacialis, sive, Juris inter Gentes et Quaestionum de Eodem Explicatio*.

Two more volumes were published during the past year under the Institution's imprint, as forecast in the last report of the Division:

1. Legnano, Giovanni da: *De Bello, De Repraesaliis et De Duello*.

This work was published in 1917 in one volume, which contains a collotype of the Bologna Manuscript of 1393, an extended and revised text of same, and an introduction in English written by Sir Thomas Erskine Holland, Chichele Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford; an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by James Leslie Brierly, Fellow of All Souls College, and Lecturer in Trinity College, Oxford; and a photographic reproduction of the Latin text of 1477.

2. Victoria, Franciscus de: *Relectiones: De Indis and De Jure Belli*.

This work was published in 1917 in one volume, which contains an introduction in French written by Ernest Nys, Professor of International Law in the University of Brussels, an English translation of Professor Nys's French introduction and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by John Pawley Bate, Reader of Roman and International Law in the Inns of Court, London; a revised text, with prefatory remarks, by Dr. Herbert F. Wright, Librarian of the Latin Library of the Catholic University of America; and a photographic reproduction of the Latin text of 1696.

During the year which has elapsed since the Carnegie Institution formally transferred the series to the Endowment, arrangements have been made with the Endowment's publishers, the Oxford University Press (American Branch), for photographing the texts, printing the translations, and attending to all the usual details of publication.

It was also necessary to secure competent editorial assistance to coordinate the various and independent parts of each work and look after the usual editorial details from the receipt of the manuscript to the finished book, a task which was formerly performed by the editor of the Carnegie Institution. For this purpose the Director of the Division of International Law was fortunate in securing the services of Prof. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University, and this arrangement was submitted to and approved by the Executive Committee. Professor Magoffin had scarcely entered upon his duties, however, before he was called to serve in the United States Army as a captain, which service precluded his continuance of this connection with the Classics. As a consequence, the Director was forced to look elsewhere for the necessary editorial assistance,

and, upon the authorization of the Executive Committee, he engaged the services of Dr. Herbert F. Wright, of the Catholic University of America, who has been pushing forward the project as rapidly as the character of the work permits.

The Director has the pleasure of reporting that the following works will probably be published before his next report is rendered, barring unforeseen circumstances and delays incident to the furnishing of suitable introductions by foreign publicists.

1. Wolff, Christian von: *Jus Gentium Methodo Scientifica Pertractatum, in quo Jus Gentium Naturale ab eo, quod Voluntarii, Pactitii et Consuetudinarii est, accurate distinguitur.*

This work will appear in two volumes. Volume I will contain an introduction written in German by the Swiss publicist, Prof. Otfried Nippold, special correspondent of the Endowment's Division of Intercourse and Education, followed by a photographic reproduction of the Latin text from a copy of the 1764 edition in the possession of the Director of the Endowment's Division of International Law. Volume II will contain an English translation of Professor Nippold's German introduction to Volume I, and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by Joseph H. Drake, Professor of Roman Law at the University of Michigan. Most of the material of these two volumes is in type.

2. Pufendorf, Samuel von: *De Officio Hominis et Civis Juxta Legem Naturalem.*

This work will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, a photographic reproduction of the Latin text probably from a copy of the 1682 edition in the possession of the Harvard Law Library, and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by Frank Gardner Moore, Professor of Classical Philology in Columbia University. The latter is in type and ready to be paged. No introduction for this work has been supplied as yet, but negotiations are under way with this purpose in view.

3. Gentili, Alberico: *Hispanica Advocatio.*

This work will appear in two volumes. Volume I will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, followed by a photographic reproduction of the Latin text from a copy of the 1661 edition in the possession of the Library of Congress. Volume II will contain an English translation of the Latin text made expressly for the series by Frank Frost Abbott, Kennedy Professor of Latin at Princeton University. The latter is in type. No introduction for this work has been supplied as yet, but negotiations are under way with this purpose in view.

4. Gentili, Alberico: *De Legationibus.*

This work will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, a photographic reproduction of the Latin text probably from a copy of the 1594 edition in the possession of the Columbia University Library, and an English translation of the

Latin text, made expressly for the series by Gordon J. Laing, Professor of Latin at the University of Chicago. The latter is in type. No introduction for this work has been supplied as yet, but negotiations are under way with this purpose in view.

5. Bynkershoek, Cornelius van: *De Dominio Maris*.

This work will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, a photographic reproduction of the Latin text, and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Associate Professor of Greek and Roman History in the Johns Hopkins University. The text is now in the process of being reproduced and the manuscript of the translation is in the hands of the printers. The introduction for this work has not yet been assigned.

In addition to the works mentioned above, which seem likely to appear in the course of the coming year, there are three other works which are almost ready to be sent to the printer and which may likewise appear in the latter part of the year. These are:

1. Suarez, Francisco: *De Bello* and selections from *De Legibus*.

This work will contain an introduction by Mr. Ammi Brown, Instructor in Law at the Catholic University of America, a reproduction of the Latin text, and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series by Mr. Brown. All of this material is now at the Endowment being prepared for the printer.

2. Gentili, Alberico: *De Iure Belli*.

This work will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, a reproduction of the Latin text, and an English translation of the Latin text made expressly for the series by John C. Rolfe, Professor of Latin at the University of Pennsylvania. The manuscript of the latter is at hand, and is being prepared for the printer. No introduction for this work has been supplied as yet, but negotiations are under way with this purpose in view.

3. Bynkershoek, Cornelius van: *Quaestionum Juris Publici Libri II*.

This work will contain an introduction by a publicist of note, a reproduction of the Latin text, and an English translation of the Latin text, made expressly for the series. The translation of Book II has already been supplied by Tenney Frank, Professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr College. Book I has not been translated as yet, nor has the introduction been assigned up to the present time.

There are several other works, which are now in active preparation, some of which were authorized by the Carnegie Institution before the project was transferred to the Endowment, but it is impossible at present to forecast the probable date of publication. The last three in the following list were authorized by the Executive Committee during the past year.

1. Grotius, Hugo: *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres*.
2. Grotius, Hugo: *De Jure Praedae Commentarius*.
3. Pufendorf, Samuel von: *Elementa Jurisprudentiae Universalis*.
4. Menandrino, Marsiglio (Marsilius of Padua): *Defensor Pacis*.
5. Wheaton, Henry: *Elements of International Law*.
6. Wheaton, Henry: *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America*.

The Director feels that he must repeat here some of the sentiments expressed in his last report with regard to the desirability and appropriateness of pushing forward this project in the present world crisis. That international law as a system will survive the calamitous and brutal war of 1914 is certain, although the general public appears to regard it as a modern invention and looks to the Hague Conventions as the source of its authority. It is, therefore, especially important that the general public should know and that the professors and students of international law should be in a position to make it clear that international law is not a thing of convention and of compromise, to be found in treatises of recent date, but that it is the slow and painful outgrowth of centuries in response to the needs of nations and of peoples, which however distant in space and in thought, must have dealings one with the other, and must have dealings conformed to law, if justice and its perfected fruit, peace, is ever to prevail between nations, as it does and as all recognize that it must between the men and women composing them.

As an example of this early development, the Director feels that he can not but cite the rules of conduct for rulers, which were enunciated by the learned professor of Salamanca, Franciscus de Victoria, over three hundred and fifty years ago, and which seem to have an exact counterpart in the policy of our President. These rules are three in number and deal respectively with conduct before war is declared, during the war itself, and after the war has been finished.

First, granting that a ruler has the authority to wage war, he ought not to seek occasions and causes of war, but ought to have peace with all men. Secondly, granting that a war has arisen from just causes, the ruler ought to wage it not for the destruction of the opposing nation, but for the prosecution of his own right and the defense of his own country, and in such a way that peace and security may eventually be obtained. Thirdly, at the end of the war, the victor should use his victory with moderation and Christian modesty and ought to consider himself as a judge between the wronged nation and the nation doing wrong, and not as a prosecutor.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to imagine how more prudent and more equitable rules than these could be formulated. Desirable, therefore, as this series was in 1906, when it was first suggested, it is necessary in 1918, and it is the intention and the earnest hope of the Director that volume after volume may appear in rapid succession during the continuance of the war and after its close, so that those principles of

<sup>1</sup> FRANCISCUS DE VICTORIA, *De Indis et De Iure Belli Relectiones* (published in our Classics of International Law), p. 297.

international law which have come into being in response to the needs of the nations will not only be known to the nations, but also, by creating an international opinion in favor of international law, will persuade where force can not compel the nations to accept its just principles and to dwell in peace.

Since the famous work of Grotius, which was the first systematic treatise on international law, marked a climax in the development of the subject, how desirable is it to pierce with the torch of publicity the darkness which enshrouds the predecessors of Grotius, from whom he culled the ideas and sentiments so carefully coordinated by him and which are, so to speak, the very fount of international law. In keeping with this purpose, the Director recommends that authority be granted to include the following works in the Classics of International Law:

1. Belli, Pierino: *De Re Militari et De Bello*.

This work, published in 1563, was mentioned (No. 2) in the original letter of the Director, then Solicitor for the Department of State, to President R. S. Woodward of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, proposing the project of the Classics. There is no need therefore to give additional reason here for its inclusion.

2. Bonet, Honoré: *Arbre des Batailles*.

This work, composed about 1384, was recently (1883) edited by Ernest Nys, who remarks: "The ideas which Honoré Bonet defends and the theories which he extols are remarkable, and there is also something surprising in the fact that an author of the end of the fourteenth century expounds on many points a doctrine more in conformity with justice, law and reason than had been done by the immediate precursors of Grotius, Grotius himself, and a number of successors of the great Dutch thinker, especially Bynkershoek."<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, the Director can but reiterate his hope that rapid progress will be made in the publication of the works now in the hands of the printers, as it is peculiarly appropriate that they should be issued in the course of the present war, for in addition to furnishing professors and students with the texts which they can now secure only with the greatest difficulty, if at all, they show the public that international law has withstood the assaults of the past and that it will survive the assaults of the present and impress the future.

### Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens

The outline and plan of this series of publications are contained in the Director's reports for 1914 and 1915.<sup>2</sup> The progress made upon the translation and publication of the volumes included in the series is reported in the Director's reports for 1916 and 1917.<sup>3</sup> The Director is now happy to state that during the

<sup>1</sup> ERNEST NYS, *Le Droit International*, tome I, page 231.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1913-14, page 156; 1915, page 148.

<sup>3</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 174; 1917, page 116.

year which has just elapsed the translations of the following works have been completed and sent to the press:

Lawrence: *The Principles of International Law*.  
 Liszt: *Lehrbuch des Völkerrechts*.  
 de Louter: *Het Stellig Völkerecht*.  
 Scott: *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*.  
 Westlake: *International Law*.

The work of preparing the completed translation of Kleen's *Krigets Lagar* for publication is in an advanced state, and this work, it is expected, will shortly be sent to the press.

As reported last year, the negotiations with the French publisher for the inclusion of his edition of Triepel's *Völkerrecht und Landesrecht* were interrupted by the trip to South America of Professor de Lapradelle, the Director of the *Bibliothèque*. He has now returned to France, and it is hoped that the arrangements for the inclusion of this volume in the series will be completed in short order.

### Other Publications of the Division

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES AND THEIR OFFICIAL REPORTS

In 1916 the Division published a volume bearing the above title, in order that, as indicated in its preface, the American people might "in this tragic moment of the world's history, be assured that the leadership in international organization has passed into firm and enlightened hands in this republic of ours, which again has become the hope of the world." That assurance rested upon the part which the Government of the United States had taken in bringing the nations of the world into conference and in planning the conventional structure of international arbitration designed as the temple of peace.

In his introduction to that volume the Director said in part:

The United States welcomed the call to a conference issued by Nicholas II, the present Czar of all the Russias, and the American delegates to the First Hague Conference, under the leadership of the Honorable Andrew D. White, were not the least influential in negotiating the Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, at a time when it seemed likely to fail, and which, when negotiated, justified the call of the Conference.

Secretary of State Hay's instructions to the American delegates, contained a brief history of the peace movement in America and positive directions to secure the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The United States not merely welcomed the call to the Second Hague Conference but grew weary of waiting for the call which did not come. It therefore sounded the governments, twenty-six in number, represented at the First Conference as to their willingness to attend a second conference, suggested the broad outlines of a program, and expressed "the President's desire and hope that the undying memories which cling around The Hague as the cradle of the beneficent work which had its beginning in 1899 may



be strengthened by holding the Second Peace Conference in that historic city." The replies to the circular instruction, dated October 21, 1904, were uniformly favorable and, the war between Japan and Russia being brought to an end by the good offices of the President of the United States, who had recently proposed to the powers the meeting of a second conference, steps were taken by Russia immediately after the signing of the treaty of Portsmouth on September 6, 1905, to arrange for that second conference whose meeting had already been assured by the President of the United States.

Through the tactful intervention of Mr. Root, who had succeeded Mr. Hay as Secretary of State upon his untimely death, a method was devised allowing nonsignatory states to adhere to the acts of the First Conference, and through Secretary Root's wisdom, foresight and initiative all American states were invited to send delegates to the Second Conference, instead of the three American republics alone invited to the First.

Secretary Root's instructions to the American delegates to the Second Conference show the same interest in that august assembly, and the desire for positive results tending to preserve the peace of the world, as did the instructions of his illustrious predecessor.

The American delegates to the Second Conference, under the leadership of the Honorable Joseph H. Choate, were not the least influential in securing the acceptance in principle of the Court of Arbitral Justice, a court to be composed of permanent judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, to be established alongside of the so-called Permanent Court of the First Conference, due in such large measure to the efforts of the American delegation at that Conference.

The reports of the American delegates to the two Conferences are clear, accurate and convincing documents, written from the standpoint of firm believers in international justice and therefore in international peace. They are worthy to be placed side by side, both in spirit and execution, with the instructions of the Secretaries of State, and they are here printed side by side in order that the American people may, in this tragic moment of the world's history be assured that the leadership in international organization has passed into firm and enlightened hands in this republic of ours, which again has become the hope of the world.

From what has been quoted, it can be seen that the contents of this book, if brought to the attention of the peoples of foreign nations, are calculated to perform good service.

While the English edition of this book was intended specially for the American public, the French edition which was authorized by the Executive Committee at its meeting in January, 1917, should certainly carry an assurance to the French reading people of the world, embracing as that term does a majority of diplomatists, of the faith of this country in international arbitration as a permanent institution. The Division will, therefore, endeavor to have this French edition sufficiently advanced so that it may be promptly distributed in foreign countries when normal conditions return. The necessary translations have been made and the manuscript can be sent to the printer as soon as it seems advisable.

## THE HAGUE CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF 1899 AND 1907

At its meeting held January 4, 1917, the Executive Committee authorized the publication of a French edition of this work, which had already appeared in English and in Spanish as described in preceding reports.<sup>1</sup> Of the several French editions of the Division's English publications authorized by the Executive Committee at that meeting, the above mentioned was first taken up for preparation as being of basic importance. While in the opinion of the Director a sufficiently large edition for most of the French publications of the Division has been provided for, he thinks it probable that the demand for the French edition of the Hague Conventions and Declarations will be larger by reason of the facts set forth in his last annual report wherein he fully described the especial need for a French edition of this book. As there indicated, the fact that the original language of the Conventions and Declarations is French should cause the demand for this volume to be not transitory but continuous and increasing as the study of international law becomes more and more widespread. For this reason molds will be taken of this type and kept for possible future editions. This French edition, *Les conventions et déclarations de La Haye de 1899 et 1907, accompagnées de tableaux des signatures, ratifications, et adhésions et des textes des réserves*, is now in its final stages of preparation and it is hoped to lay bound copies before the Trustees at the coming annual meeting. Two features of this book seem to call for particular attention. In the first place, pains have been taken to make the French edition correspond with the English edition, page for page as nearly as practicable, so that the reader of the English edition may with facility refer to the corresponding original French texts. Careful students, who wish to make frequent comparisons, will appreciate the saving of labor through such arrangement. In the second place, it may not be inappropriate to call attention to the elaborate index of 47 pages which has been prepared in the Division. Detailed indexes are not unknown in French works, but they are not as common as they should be, and it seemed in this case that the fundamental character of the book warranted, nay even required, this analytical index.

The Director has heretofore suggested that this book be issued also in other languages, and he here repeats this suggestion for consideration when more pressing demands permit.

## THE REPORTS TO THE HAGUE CONFERENCES OF 1899 AND 1907

This work was published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford during the month of January last and is on sale by the American Branch of the Oxford Press at New York. It is a crown quarto volume of xxxii + 940 pages, bearing the title, "The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, being the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft Conventions and Declarations submitted to the Conferences by the several com-

<sup>1</sup> Year Book. 1915. page 126; 1916. page 140

missions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the Final Acts, Conventions and Declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegations of the various Powers as well as of other documents laid before the commissions." A full description of this publication appears in previous reports.<sup>1</sup>

The Executive Committee having at its meeting of January 4, 1917, authorized the publication of a French counterpart of this volume, the necessary manuscript was prepared during the early part of the year and was sent to the printer last October. The French volume will be of the same format as the English edition, and an endeavor will be made by the printer, if the exigencies of type-setting allow, to have it correspond page for page, as in the case of the French edition of *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*. Proof sheets of this volume have not yet been received from the printer, the Clarendon Press at Oxford, but it is hoped to have the volume in serviceable shape for study in good season. It may be remarked that inasmuch as this volume contains approximately one-sixth of the material in the official proceedings of the two Hague Peace Conferences, selected for its importance in revealing the genesis of the rules of international law that found expression in the Conventions adopted by the Conferences, as well as in affording the best light for interpretation, to wit, the words of the international legislators themselves, it is believed that students of this groundwork of written international law will find these volumes to be indispensable mentors. The unwieldy character of the four large volumes containing the complete proceedings of the two Conferences, necessary as they are in the last resort for reference, will often deter the investigator from research therein, especially when he can have at his elbow a single volume with detailed indexes and copious annotation showing the interrelation and ramifications of the subjects treated.

#### THE HAGUE COURT REPORTS

The French edition of the awards of the Hague Permanent Court is in an advanced stage of preparation. With the exception of some of the prefatory matter all necessary translations have been completed, and a substantial fraction of the collection is already in type. The Division's English edition, which appeared in 1916, is described at length in previous reports.<sup>2</sup> It comprised the awards of the tribunal and reports of the commissions of inquiry, accompanied by syllabi, the agreements for arbitration and other documents in each case submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration and to commissions of inquiry under the provisions of the Conventions of 1899 and 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes, preceded by an introduction by the Director of the Division pointing out the services of the Permanent Court and its limitations and providing a critical commentary upon certain provisions of the Convention.

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 142; 1917, page 120.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1913-14, pages 138-140; 1916, page 145.

That edition contained in its appendix the original texts of the treaties, awards, etc., when in languages other than English. As the original language of the majority of the documents is French, and as they will therefore need to appear but once in the volume in preparation, the French edition will be somewhat smaller than the English edition. Nevertheless, considerable typesetting remains to be done, and all the proofreading. The Division aims to get the proofs in shape for indexing during the summer.

#### THE WORK OF THE HAGUE CONFERENCES

In the spring of 1912 there was issued, in the German language, a book entitled *Der Staatenverband der Haager Konferenzen*, or as it may be rendered in English, *The International Union of the Hague Conferences*. This work was the first of a series of volumes under the general title *Das Werk vom Haag*, or *The Work of The Hague*, due to the enterprise of Dr. Walther Schücking, professor in the University of Marburg, Germany. The series, as a whole, was intended to make known the results of the First and Second Hague Conferences by publishing monographs dealing with the declarations, conventions, and recommendations, as well as the problems of the Conferences, so that the students and scholars of Germany might be furnished with all information essential to a correct understanding of the Conferences. A second volume of the series was entitled *Das Problem eines internationalen Staatengerichtshofes*, or *The Problem of an International Court of Justice*, from the pen of Dr. Hans Wehberg of Düsseldorf.

The translation and publication of these two volumes having been authorized by the Executive Committee, they are now being issued by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, England. The former contains xiv+341 pages and the latter xxxiii+251 pages, and both are on sale by the American Branch of the Oxford University Press. The translations from the German were made by Charles G. Fenwick, Ph.D., associate professor of political science, Bryn Mawr College.

An extended discussion of these two volumes of the series appears in the Endowment's Year Book for 1912 at pages 156-157. Their appearance in English at the present time seems opportune, inasmuch as the original German works were written by their eminent authors not long prior to the outbreak of the present European War, and it is therefore now of interest for the American and English reader to peruse these prewar expressions of German academic opinion on the achievements and the possibilities of the international society or union of states created by the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

A volume containing a compilation in the English language of the resolutions adopted from time to time by the Institute of International Law on subjects of public international law was published by the Endowment in the autumn of 1916. In the following January the Executive Committee authorized the publica-

tion of a corresponding volume in the French language, and work upon this volume was promptly begun. In the course of the preparation it was found that the resolutions of the Institute on subjects pertaining to private international law, or conflict of laws, as it is usually termed in this country, could be brought into the compass of the volume without unduly increasing its size. As the gain of completeness to be thus obtained seemed very desirable, these resolutions also were gathered for printing. The necessary research and arrangement, together with the translation into French of the introductory matter, was completed in the early autumn and the manuscript sent to the printer, who is now returning proof sheets in instalments.

The Institute of International Law issued in 1893 a *Tableau Général* of its work during the period from 1873, the date of its foundation, to 1892; in 1904 it published in the same volume with its *Annuaire* for that year a *Tableau Décennal*, describing its organization, personnel, and work for the period 1894 to 1904. It is therefore after another decade of activity, ending in 1913 with its latest session held at Oxford, that the Endowment's *Tableau Général* will appear, covering the entire forty years of cooperative work of this most notable association for research and constructive codification in the domain of international law in the widest sense of that term.

The arrangement adopted by the Division in this publication is chronological, as in the English edition of the resolutions of the Institute dealing with the law of nations. This arrangement, when supplemented by sufficient references in footnotes and a careful index, seems at least as serviceable in this case as the plan of grouping resolutions and codes according to their subject-matter.

It will be recalled that the Director in his last annual report proposed that the resolutions of the Institute dealing with private international law be published in English as a companion volume to the volume already issued of the resolutions dealing with the law of nations, and he now renews this proposal for the reasons then given. He also renews his suggestion that a Spanish edition of the resolutions be published; for, as he then remarked, such a volume would be welcomed by the many members of the various societies of international law in Latin America who do not read French or English, but upon whose intelligent cooperation the American Institute of International Law relies to inculcate interest and true notions of the science in the peoples of their countries.

#### UNE COUR DE JUSTICE INTERNATIONALE

In 1916 the Division of International Law published a tractate entitled *An International Court of Justice*, intended to show the progress made up to that time in creating this international tribunal. The appearance of this volume in the last days of February closely followed the delivery of an address at Des Moines, Iowa, by President Wilson, in the course of which he affirmed his earnest and convinced advocacy of the creation of an international tribunal in the following words:

You know that there is no international tribunal, my fellow citizens. I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribune and producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world.

The volume showed in detail the steps taken since the London Naval Conference of 1908-09 towards the establishment of the court of arbitral justice recommended by the Second Hague Conference, and contained, with the permission of the Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, the pertinent draft conventions and correspondence from the archives of the Department of State. The Division also published at the same time a small volume entitled *The Status of the International Court of Justice*, in which was reprinted, with the permission of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, a pamphlet which had been published by that society but a few weeks before the outbreak of the great war in August, 1914, and which was a statement by the undersigned of the then status of the proposal for an international court of justice, so that the partisans of judicial settlement might be informed not only as to the original proposal but as to the steps that had been taken to realize it.

These two volumes have been combined in one volume in the French language and are being brought out by the Division under the authority of a resolution of the Executive Committee dated January 4, 1917. It is hoped to lay the volume in its final bound form before the Trustees at their coming annual meeting. As the Director believes that this volume is timely, he will endeavor to hasten its circulation in foreign countries as soon as peaceful communications make it possible.

#### FRENCH EDITIONS OF THE DIVISION'S PUBLICATIONS

The Executive Committee, at its meeting of January 4, 1917, made an allotment to provide for translating and publishing in French the following works of the Division:

An International Court of Justice, and The Status of the International Court of Justice, to be published as one volume.

Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports.

Resolutions of the Institute of International Law Dealing with the Law of Nations.

The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907.

The Hague Court Reports.

Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms. By William Ladd.

The Freedom of the Seas. A dissertation by Hugo Grotius.

Recommendations on International Law and Official Commentary thereon of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress Held in Washington, December 27, 1915-January 8, 1916.

More or less work has been done on the first six above mentioned as described elsewhere in this report under their respective titles. With respect to the last three in the list, viz., Ladd's *Essay on a Congress of Nations*, Grotius's *Freedom of the Seas*, and the *Recommendations on International Law and Official Commentary thereon of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, it is expected to take them up as soon as the work in progress in the Division will permit.

As stated in the Director's last annual report, the abnormal conditions existing throughout the world and the difficulty of maintaining means of transportation seem to make it advisable to defer the publication of the French edition of most of these volumes until it is again possible to distribute them in countries where the French language is spoken. Inasmuch, however, as the preparation of certain of them of necessity consumes considerable time in translation and editing, and as the conclusion of the existing war would seem in the case of many of them to be the most opportune time for placing them before the world at large, and more particularly the statesmen concerned in negotiating such conventional agreements embodying the legal results of the war as may be reached, it is apparent that, without the gifts of prophecy, this work can not be deferred lest the books be not ready when most wanted.

#### THE CONTROVERSY OVER NEUTRAL RIGHTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

A volume bearing this title and containing a collection of American state papers and judicial decisions was issued by the Division last summer. It will be recalled that at the date of the last annual report of the Director Pamphlets Nos. 24 and 25 of the Division's series had just issued from the press, entitled respectively, *Documents Relating to the Controversy over Neutral Rights between the United States and France, 1797-1800*, and *Opinions of the Attorneys General and Judgments of the Supreme Court and Court of Claims of the United States Relating to the Controversy over Neutral Rights between the United States and France, 1797-1800*. Publication of those pamphlets, like others on the subject of neutrality, was a consequence of the public questions uppermost at that time in the minds of the American people concerning the international relations of their government. President Wilson, in his address before the Congress on February 26, 1917, had said that "we must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent."

In view of the statements contained in the President's address setting forth the difficulties of the Government of the United States concerning its maritime

commerce, the Division of International Law thought it both interesting and timely to collect and to publish as speedily as possible the documents relating to the maritime controversy with France during the presidency of John Adams. The two above mentioned pamphlets were subsequently revised and combined, with additional material, into one volume of vi+510 pages, whose title in full is *The Controversy over Neutral Rights between the United States and France, 1797-1800: A Collection of American State Papers and Judicial Decisions*. This contribution to American precedent contains, in Part I, pertinent extracts from President Adams's messages, the respective replies of the Senate and the House, the laws enacted by Congress to meet the situation, and the proclamations issued by the President; Part II continues the subject by bringing together opinions of the Attorneys General and decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the Court of Claims regarding the origin, nature, extent and legal effect of the hostilities between the United States and France at the close of the eighteenth century; and Part III is an appendix which contains the Treaties of Alliance and of Amity and Commerce of 1778, the consular convention of 1788 and the convention of 1800 terminating the differences between the two powers. These treaties are in the English and French languages in parallel columns. By way of introduction, there is prefixed an extract from the learned note of J. C. Bancroft Davis's *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Other Powers*, which gives in summary form the history of the controversy.

#### THE ARMED NEUTRALITIES OF 1780 AND 1800

Like the above described volume dealing with the controversy between the United States and France in President Adams's administration, this volume on the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800 is also a combination of two pamphlets (to wit, Nos. 27 and 28, issued last spring) with revisions and additions. It is hoped to lay this volume, which is in its final stages, before the Trustees at their forthcoming meeting. It consists of xxxii+698 pages in two parts and an appendix. Part I is a collection of views of representative publicists of various nationalities, namely, Alvarez, Bergbohm, Bluntschli, de Boeck, Boye, Calvo, von Dohm, Geffcken, Hall, Heffter, Katchenovskiy, Kleen, de Louter, Manning, F. Martens, Matzen, Nys, Perels, Phillimore, Pradier-Fodéré, von Prittwitz und Gaffron, Rivier, Trescot, Twiss, Walker, Wehberg, Westlake, Wharton, Wheaton and Woolsey. The foregoing list will be seen to contain representatives of almost every nation having a material interest in the questions in controversy. Part II contains the official documents. As the original language of most of these documents is not English, a great deal of translation has been involved, a remark which applies also to about two-thirds of Part I, where the foreign languages translated were Danish, Dutch, German, Norwegian and French. The appendix to this volume contains the original foreign language texts of the principal documents in Part II. In addition, the preliminary pages of the volume contain a carefully prepared and, although limited to the works quoted or



cited in the volume, extremely serviceable bibliography of the subject of armed neutrality.

The thoroughgoing student who habitually refers to the supporting citations made by the author he is reading will not overlook two features of this volume which make for ease of research and, therefore, accuracy and speed in results. When a student of international law is reading an author who is attempting to demonstrate the correctness of his individual view of a certain controversy, he must examine that author's citations, as being his premises. Before he can make such an examination he must first surmount the obstacle of getting before him in juxtaposition with the author's text the sources relied upon, and then perhaps he can only peer darkly through the medium of a foreign language. The sources he desires are brought together for him between the covers of this book, and translations of them are also provided. Translations at their best can not faithfully mirror the original, but it is actuality that confronts us; and it is frequently the case that the reader of English is dependent upon them. If unfortunately he is, these translations are to him a boon; if fortunately he can read the original texts, they too are here in the main, and he can penetrate the subject with nicety; as, for example, by collating the exact French texts of the Russian declarations of the principles of the armed neutralities with that of the treaty of 1801 between Russia and Great Britain, noting the force of slightly varying phraseology and observing the constructions placed upon them by writers in the English language.

The plan of this book suggests the query whether there is not an extensive field for the Division of International Law to cultivate by issuing books on a similar plan on other disputes that have arisen respecting the principles of the law of nations. It would seem that this course would be a practical and effective method of fostering an international attitude of mind.

#### THE TREATIES OF 1785, 1799 AND 1828 BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PRUSSIA

This book is an amplification of the Division's pamphlet No. 26, which was issued early last spring to meet the many inquiries regarding the existing treaty relations between the United States and Germany. The events which caused this general inquiry are well known. The opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States, the decisions of federal courts and the correspondence between the German Empire on the one hand and the United States on the other, relating to the nature and binding effect of the treaties, were collected from official sources and issued by the Division as a pamphlet in March, 1917.

War was then imminent and as the conduct whereof the United States complained was not stopped, on April 2 the President advised the Congress to declare the existence of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which the Congress did on April 6, 1917. The treaties, with the exception of Articles XXIII and XXIV of that of 1799, were, in so far as binding, suspended or abrogated by the outbreak of the war. They have, how-

ever, a distinct place in international law as well as in the relations of the two contracting countries. The pamphlet containing them has therefore been re-issued in revised and permanent form. The revision consists both in omitting parts of the court decisions bearing on questions foreign to the purposes of the book, and in adding material chiefly drawn from the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Germany. The volume now contains the texts of the specified treaties between the United States and Prussia in the English and French languages arranged in parallel columns, opinions of the Attorneys General in the case of the deserters from the Prussian frigate *Niobe*, on tonnage dues, and on the duty on imported salt; relevant parts of the federal decisions touching the last two of these subjects as well as other adjudicated cases construing these treaties, a portion of the neutrality proclamation of the United States in 1870, and selected diplomatic correspondence relating to the treaties from the difference regarding tonnage dues to the proposal of the German Government in February, 1917, for an addition to the treaty of 1799.

#### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Director in his annual report of last year recommended that these three documents, fundamental as they are in our history and if not already fundamental in the world's history destined so to be, should be gathered into a volume, separate and distinct from other matters and without notes and annotations encumbering their texts so that they could be considered, analyzed, and compared under the most favorable conditions. In that report the Director detailed his reasons for believing it advisable that these documents should be issued by the Endowment, interested as it is in international rather than in national organization.<sup>1</sup> Without repeating those reasons here, suffice it to say that they bore in general upon the remarkable lessons which the history of the fundamental law of the United States and the colonies that composed it affords of the growth of a disposition first to negotiate and then to adjudicate settlements of intercolonial and interstate disputes. In accordance with the recommendation of the Director, the Executive Committee at its meeting held May 22, 1917, authorized him to prepare and publish such a volume. This, accordingly, the Division proceeded to do, and the volume was soon brought out. The volume contains xix+94 pages and is on sale by the publishers, the American Branch of the Oxford University Press.

#### RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF AMERICAN STATE DOCUMENTS

Since the preceding publication has appeared, the Executive Committee has considered it advisable to authorize the publication of a Russian translation of these documents for such distribution in Russia as may seem proper for use in connection with the eventual framing of a new form of government in that country. Translations have been located in standard Russian works and the volume is

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 137.

now being put through the press under the supervision of Professor Leo Wiener, the eminent Russian scholar upon the Faculty of Harvard University.

The action of the Committee in directing the issuance of this publication was taken before the occurrence of recent events which have produced such chaotic conditions in Russia, and it may be that the Endowment may never have an opportunity of disseminating information regarding American ideals and form of government in that present unhappy country through the circulation of these great American documents. The books will be held, however, and, should a happier day return when the Russian people shall be able to take up the serious consideration of a government by themselves, it is believed that this volume, giving them access, in their own tongue, to the state papers which are the landmarks of American liberty and democracy, will be most welcome and useful to them in making their country, "safe for democracy."

#### THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF HABANA CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

It will be remembered that the Director in his last annual report gave an account of the second annual meeting of the American Institute of International Law, held at Habana, January 22-January 27, 1917, upon the invitation of the Cuban Government and under the auspices of the Cuban Society of International Law. The most important action taken by the Institute at this meeting was the adoption of sundry recommendations upon international organization, which it decided should bear the name of "The Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization." These recommendations, which were unanimously adopted by the Institute on January 23, 1917, are the nucleus of the above-entitled volume, to which have been added a commentary for which the undersigned is responsible, and the address on the "Platt Amendment and Recommendations on International Organization," delivered by the undersigned as President of the Institute at the opening session on the evening of January 22, 1917, at which the President of the Cuban Republic presided in person. An appendix containing the constitution, by-laws and a list of the officers and members of the American Institute of International Law is added.

This volume, which was on the press at the time of the last annual meeting of the Board of Trustees and was published and distributed later in the spring under the imprint of the Division of International Law, contains v+100 pages and is on sale by the American Branch of the Oxford University Press.

#### TREATIES FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PEACE

In the report of the Division for 1916, the Director made a critical analysis of the treaties concluded by Mr. Bryan while Secretary of State with some thirty foreign governments, and closed with the recommendation that "these treaties should be gathered together and printed in the languages of the originals, and that there should be prefixed thereto an introduction stating their origin, their relation to arbitration, and their position in the movement to advance peace."

This recommendation was renewed last year and was followed by a resolution of the Executive Committee on May 22, 1917, authorizing the preparation and publication of such a volume.

The projected volume, with the exception of the prefatory matter, is now in type. The contents consist of perfected treaties with twenty countries, to wit: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Great Britain, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Uruguay; and ten unperfected treaties with Argentine Republic, Dominican Republic, Greece, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, and Venezuela. The treaties are printed in the original languages, which are generally two in number, one being English. In such cases the provisions of the treaties in the two languages appear in parallel columns. In a few cases, such as Greece and China, where the foreign country does not employ the Roman alphabet the foreign language is not printed. The perfected treaties may be found printed in the published volumes of the Statutes at Large of the United States, and that has been the authoritative source for these texts. In the case of unperfected treaties our texts have been made to conform with the originals in the archives of the Department of State or with the texts transmitted by the Department to the Senate for its approval under the Constitution.

#### JAY'S "WAR AND PEACE"

The recommendation for the reissuance of this brochure,—the full title of which is *War and Peace: The Evils of the First, and a Plan for Preserving the Last*,—was contained in the Director's report for last year.<sup>1</sup> The recommendation having been approved, the booklet is now in type and ready for issuance. Its publication has not been hurried because of the pressure upon the publishers of books of more importance in the present situation.

#### ELIHU BURRITT'S WRITINGS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The recommendation for the publication of selected addresses and papers of Elihu Burritt was also contained in the Director's report for last year.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the pressure of more important work, the publication has not been pushed, but the work of selecting the addresses and papers has been in progress from time to time during the year. It will probably be feasible to issue the book during the ensuing year.

#### Pamphlet Series of Publications

Since the Director's annual report of last year the Division has issued the following in its numbered pamphlet series:

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 134.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 135.

- No. 26. Opinions of Attorneys General, Decisions of Federal Courts, and Diplomatic Correspondence Respecting the Treaties of 1785, 1799 and 1828, between the United States and Prussia. vi+158 pages. 1917.  
Supplement to Pamphlet No. 26.
- No. 27. Official Documents Bearing on the Armed Neutrality of 1780 and 1800. x+295 pages. 1917.
- No. 28. Extracts from American and Foreign Works on International Law Concerning the Armed Neutrality of 1780 and 1800. vi+109 pages. 1917.
- No. 29. Two Ideals of Government. v+17 pages. 1917.
- No. 30. The Effect of Democracy on International Law. By Elihu Root. ii+10 pages. 1917.

Pamphlet No. 26 was a continuation of the series of pamphlets dealing with the crisis through which the United States was passing a year ago, which series was initiated with Pamphlets Nos. 24 and 25 relating to the controversy over neutral rights between the United States and France during the administration of President John Adams, Pamphlet No. 26, dealing with the treaty relations between the United States and Prussia, was distributed last March in response to an urgent inquiry on the part of the public for information on this subject. Since that date the Division has revised the pamphlet for publication in permanent book form under the title, *The Treaties of 1785, 1799 and 1828 between the United States and Prussia*, a detailed description of which is given elsewhere in this report.

Pamphlets Nos. 27 and 28, treating of the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800, were likewise considered so important as to deserve publication in permanent book form and they also have accordingly been combined and revised for publication as such under the title, *The Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800*. A detailed description of this volume also may be found elsewhere in this report.

Pamphlets Nos. 24 to 28, inclusive, as will be seen, form a series intimately bearing upon the international questions which at the time of the appearance of the pamphlets were uppermost in the minds of the American public and of predominating importance in the life of the nation as a member of the society of nations. This series brought to the immediate attention of the American democracy in convenient form and without cost to it the documents, both the adjudged cases and diplomatic correspondence where legal rights are defined, and the most authoritative opinions of accredited publicists of different nationalities.

Pamphlet No. 29, entitled *Two Ideals of Government*, contains the Declaration of Independence, President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural Address, and President Wilson's Address to Congress of April 2, 1917. The purpose of this pamphlet was to bring together these four great documents of democracy and to emphasize the opposition existing between the two ideals of

government now arrayed in mortal combat. The ideal of the past is strongly entrenched in Europe, the ideal of the future is strongly entrenched in America and, as expressed in the prefatory note for this pamphlet written by the undersigned, "the triumph must be of one or of the other; both can no longer exist together."

Pamphlet No. 30 is entitled *The Effect of Democracy on International Law*, and contains the opening address delivered by the Honorable Elihu Root, as President of the American Society of International Law at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Society in Washington, April 26, 1917.

The Division has in preparation the following as

Pamphlet No 31. *The Declaration of London of February 26, 1909*. This pamphlet will contain, in the English language, the text of the Declaration of London as approved by the Senate of the United States, the General Report written by Mr. Louis Renault to accompany the Declaration, the Final Protocol of the Conference, the Call of the Conference by Great Britain, and a bibliography. As an introduction the pamphlet will contain the address delivered by the Honorable Elihu Root at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, held at Washington, April 25, 1912, on *The Real Significance of the Declaration of London*.<sup>1</sup>

### Subventions to Societies

#### AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

It is unnecessary to discourse upon the origin and the progress of the American Institute of International Law, as the Director has in his various reports dwelt upon these subjects.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, permissible to call attention to the fact that it was formally opened in Washington, on December 29, 1916, in connection with, and under the auspices of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress; that at its first session it adopted a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, which has been very widely approved; and that at its second session, at Habana, January 22-27, 1917, it adopted the so-called "Recommendations of Habana" dealing with international organization, which have likewise met with approval. Indeed, on February 25, 1918, no less a body than the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union unanimously adopted the "Recommendations of Habana," and urged their adoption by the Interparliamentary Union, of which the American Group forms an integral part, as the basis of international organization.

During the session of Habana, the Minister of Uruguay, acting under instructions from his government, invited the Institute to hold its next session at Montevideo, and this invitation was gratefully accepted. The entry of the United States into the war, the commotion produced in the Americas by this

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently it was decided to issue this publication in volume form.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 108, and references there given to previous reports.

event, and the serious situation created in various American countries by the continued existence of the war, suggested the propriety of postponing the meeting of the Institute at least for this year. This was done, and because of this, it has been unnecessary to ask the Trustees for an appropriation in aid of the meeting to be held, it is hoped, next year in Montevideo, for the reason that the appropriation already made for that purpose is still available.

The Final Act of the session of Habana has been issued and circulated in Spanish. It has more recently appeared in a French edition, and the Proceedings of the Institute will shortly be published in Spanish. The Trustees will, in due course, receive the French edition of the Final Act, which has just appeared in a comely volume edition, should they so desire.

It is perhaps permissible to quote, in this connection, a statement of Mr. Albéric Rolin, Secretary General of the Institute of International Law, who recently said:

I consider the Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations a beautiful document, by which the American Institute of International Law has made a brilliant début. I have joyfully welcomed it. It has valiantly grasped from the vacillating hands of our old Institute, momentarily fallen asleep and paralyzed,—only for the moment, I hope—the torch of Science and of International Justice.

#### THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

In 1908 the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes was formed, for the express purpose of bringing together at annual meetings the advocates of judicial settlement, in order to strengthen this sentiment where it existed, and to create it where it did not exist.

The members of the society met annually, but the meeting in 1917 was omitted, owing to the entry of the United States into the war and the seeming inconsistency of considering the advantages of judicial settlement when our own country—the most persistent advocate of this form of settlement—felt obliged to appeal to the sword for the settlement of its disputes with Germany.

Each year the proceedings of the meeting were published, the volumes widely distributed, and since 1914 the Trustees of the Endowment, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, have appropriated a sum not to exceed five thousand dollars to be paid to the Judicial Settlement Society, on condition that it raised an equal sum. This year the Director of the Division of International Law has omitted the sum from the estimates of the Division, for the reason that in his opinion other societies or groups are now carrying on the work for which the Judicial Settlement Society was organized. The World's Court League and the League to Enforce Peace both advocate the establishment of an International Court of Justice, in order that the disputes between nations may be settled by its judgments, or decrees, in so far as the disputes arising between nations are susceptible of judicial settlement.

In saying this, the Director in no way disparages the work which the Judicial Settlement Society has done. Its quarterlies have been widely distributed and read, and its volumes of annual proceedings have entered into the library of international law. Should it continue its activity, it will work, no doubt, in cooperation with other societies having the same end in view. Should it regard itself as a pioneer, and as having completed its work, the mission which it imposed upon itself will be carried out by other societies and by other organizations.

Under these circumstances, the Director, although one of the founders of the Judicial Settlement Society, does not feel justified in recommending a renewal of the subvention.

#### LA SOCIÉTÉ DE LÉGISLATION COMPARÉE

The *Société de Législation Comparée* is the French society of comparative law to which the Endowment has been granting a subvention of 7,500 francs for the last five years. During its existence of nearly fifty years it has developed into an institution of great usefulness with a large membership and numerous correspondents. A description of the society may be found in the Year Book for 1913-14 at page 119.

The secretary general of the society, Mr. F. Daguin, in reporting on the use made of the subvention, stated that without it the society could not have continued its functions because the collection of dues has grown more and more difficult. Of the preceding year's dues 8,920 francs were not collected. By reason of this deficit the Endowment's subvention had to be laid out for the expenses of printing the *annuaires* and the bulletin, which are constantly increasing with the advancing cost of paper and labor.

In spite of this decrease in receipts and this increase in costs, the society believed it should not abridge its publications nor suspend the work of its library in receiving and classifying books and gazettes essential for research in its field of study. But it could not offer any compensation to its collaborators, whose assistance is still purely gratuitous, nor could it buy much needed new documents such as the official journals or legislative bulletins of the South American states.

The latest *annuaire* of foreign legislation published by the society is the one which is described in last year's report and which covered the year 1913. Mr. Daguin has informed the Division that the next number will, as an exception, contain the laws for two years (1914-1915). The society hopes in this way to satisfy the impatience of those of its members and readers who desire to see the translation of laws and decrees published more promptly. This *annuaire* will contain in particular important English laws on nationality, bankruptcy, arrangements between debtors and creditors to avoid bankruptcy, German laws on the postal check and the effect of *force majeure* in commerce, an Austrian decree on bankruptcy, a Netherland law relating to the income tax, a Chinese law on nationality, a detailed analysis of the federal laws of the United States and of certain of the States, etc. Most of these texts are accompanied by com-



mentary and notices sufficiently developed to give good understanding of them and to explain the reasons which led to their passage.

The *annuaire* of French legislation follows the same plan. The library of the Endowment has received the society's *Annuaire de législation française* issued last summer and containing the principal laws voted in France, its colonies and dependencies, in the year 1916. This number contains ix+296 pages, an increase of some fifty pages over the preceding year. Besides a general notice of the work of the French Parliament and the regulations issued by the Executive during the year 1916, a score of the principal laws and decrees are printed textually, accompanied by historical notes and commentary.

The *Bulletin mensuel* for the year 1917, its forty-sixth year, contains 576 pages, as compared with 512 in 1916. In it the society has continued its study of the legislation of the war in the several belligerent and neutral states, and has printed communications made to its general meetings, the proceedings of its general and sectional meetings, and articles on its international rôle, on the nationality of associations composed of foreign members, and literary and industrial property in Morocco.

This society seems to be doing very good work and the Director of the Division of International Law earnestly hopes that its roll of paying members may speedily and largely increase, both in order that the society may have at its disposal funds to further its objects, and in order that it may through additional members obtain a larger public hearing for its teachings. To some minds, to be sure—and we speak here of the minds of legislators, meaning those who in any form of government directly or indirectly utter their *fiat lex*—it seems an irrational proceeding to try to cure or alleviate civil ills by the application of remedial legislation without reference to the experience of other jurisdictions, but the general practice seems to justify the conviction that legislators are not sufficiently enlightened as to the advisability of consulting the experience of those who have trod the same paths, or that they have met formidable obstacles to such consultation in situations demanding early relief. The true road, of course, lies between independence and imitation. It is the gathering from the experience of others, in wise discretion, of what has proved good, and the making use thereof in drafting projects of law. The resultant benefits within a state of such a method in the obviation of amendatory laws, and in the impulse given to systematic judicial construction, are perhaps those which most attract the patriot; but the patriot, who is also a citizen of the world, does not overlook or should be led to see that harmony in municipal law will induce universal accord.

Even in the course of the present war states have seen that the difference in their legislation is an obstacle to the development of their relations; they have uttered *vœux* in conferences in favor of legislative unification. The society's policy is to follow up those tendencies and reinforce them by unceasingly calling attention to them, for their end is to assure the benefits of peace between nations.

In the difficult circumstances of these times the Executive Committee will undoubtedly recognize and favorably appreciate the efforts and services rendered by this society to the science of law. Continuance of the usual subvention for the ensuing year is recommended.

### THE GROTIUS SOCIETY

The Director takes pleasure in reporting that this society was founded early in the year 1915 by certain English members of the International Law Association for the purpose of carrying on the work of the latter organization, which, owing to the inclusion of enemy members in its composition, it was no longer able to perform.

The objects of the Grotius Society are "to afford facilities for discussion of the laws of war and peace and for interchange of opinions regarding their operations and to make suggestions for their reform and generally to advance the study of international law." Membership in the society is confined to persons qualified in the study of international law. Its first president was Lord Reay, who has since been succeeded by Professor Goudy. Sir John Macdonell is its Vice President, and it is governed by an executive committee which consists of the Right Honorable Lord Reay, Sir Graham Bower, Sir H. Erle Richards, E. A. Whittuck, Rev. T. J. Lawrence, J. E. G. de Montmorency, Sir Alfred Hopkinson, W. R. Bisschop, G. G. Phillimore and Judge Atherley Jones.

The society holds an annual meeting, before which papers are read which are published together with reports of various committees. It is particularly desirous of considering a revision of the Declaration of London. One committee has already prepared a revision of the rules of blockade. Another has reported on the destruction of merchantmen after having, by permission of the Admiralty, visited a submarine depot, inspected submarines and destroyers and gone out to sea in them in order to judge of their capabilities and methods of warfare. Another committee is dealing with the subject of contraband. The society proposes further to consider the Hague Conventions and to report some suggestions for amendment, particularly in relation to the laws and usages of war.

The society is also interested in the promotion of the study of international law, and a paper has already been prepared on this subject making recommendations somewhat along the lines of the recommendations of the Conference of American Teachers of International Law held under the auspices of the Endowment. Another paper has been prepared on the creation of a School of International Law at The Hague, which institution has heretofore received the approval of the Endowment and a grant of funds in aid of its establishment. Another activity which the society desires to undertake is the publication of documents of public importance which are omitted in official publications or are not easy of access to the public.

This is an ambitious program which the income of the society, received from annual dues of ten shillings from its sixty or seventy members, can not very well

support. The society accordingly applied to the Endowment for a grant of funds in order to enable it to publish and distribute its papers and reports.

The carrying out of such a highly commendable and valuable program under the able supervision of the society's eminent personnel cordially commends itself to the Director as deserving of substantial support. Upon his recommendation the Executive Committee on October 8, last, granted the society a subvention of \$1,250 for the present year, and the Director recommends that the subvention be continued during the ensuing year.

### Subventions to Journals of International Law

#### JAPANESE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

This monthly periodical, which is published in Tokio in the Japanese language, continues to appear with promptness and regularity. The issues for the calendar year 1917 have maintained the high standard of merit established by the review in preceding years. In view of the increased cost of print paper, the management of the review has felt obliged to increase the price of the magazine to 30 sen per copy or 330 sen per annum, which price is certainly moderate for a magazine of this character. Among the articles printed during the year 1917 we have noted especially the following:

- M. Inagaki: The Reformation of International Law.
- T. Itakura: The British Blockade against Germany.
- M. Kawasaki: The Process of the American Attitudes.
- M. Maita: Pro-Germans in Russia. (A phase of the recent revolution.)
- Y. Makino: Problems of War and Peace Negotiation.  
The Ishii-Lansing Agreement.  
The Prospects of the War and Peace Question.
- T. Numada: The Japanese Position in the Present War.
- S. Tachi: Supply of Munitions of War in the Present War.

The usual departments treating of European, American, Chinese, and Russian affairs have been conducted as heretofore by Messrs. K. Hayashi, M. Kawasaki, T. Fujita, and T. Nomura.

From the report concerning the circulation, receipts and expenditures, furnished to the Endowment in August, 1917, by the administration, it may be seen that the managers of this periodical are continuing to exert themselves in their well directed efforts to popularize international law and its related subjects, such as diplomacy, and to spread, especially among the Japanese people, a knowledge of current historical events in their true international relations and aspects. Twenty thousand copies of the magazine were printed from July, 1916, to July, 1917, of which number 8,200 copies were distributed gratis to prominent persons and institutions, as in former years. Also, as in former years, the deficit for 1916-17, amounting to over three thousand yen, was met by the editor, collaborators, and others connected with the publication. In forwarding his annual report to the Endowment the editor makes the encouraging statement that "gradually

but steadily our journal is proving to be more and more influential both in theoretical study and in practical application of international law, especially in this time of war."

The Director heartily recommends the continuance of the usual subvention of \$1,300 to this journal.

### *English Summaries of the Japanese Review*

In this connection, the Director regrets to report that the arrangement proposed several years ago by him and approved by the Trustees and the Executive Committee for issuing by the Division English summaries of certain of the more important articles appearing in this review for distribution to the Trustees and other interested persons has not yet been carried out. It has been found very difficult to secure prompt and reliable translations, but a new arrangement has now been concluded which it is believed will prove satisfactory and it is hoped that these summaries will be in the hands of the Trustees during the coming spring.

### JOURNAL DU DROIT INTERNATIONAL

This review, which was founded in 1874, is still published by its founder, Mr. Edouard Clunet, member and former President of the Institute of International Law, at Paris in the French language, and continues to appear with regularity notwithstanding the many obstacles which the management is obliged to surmount in the present troublous times. Until the outbreak of the European War the title of this periodical was *Journal du Droit International Privé et de la Jurisprudence Comparée*, but as it was thought desirable to include in its pages much of the abundance of material relating to public international law and the European War, a temporary change in the designation of the magazine was adopted for the duration of the war. This *Journal*, to which the Endowment extends a subvention in the form of a subscription for 400 copies, is now sold at the price of 25 francs per annum in France and its colonies, and 27.50 francs in other countries. This is an increase of about ten per cent in the price, which seems amply warranted by the enlargement of the magazine and the abnormal costs of production. Among the articles appearing in the 1917 issues we note especially the following:

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|-----------------|--|
| Eugène Audinet: | Le séquestre des biens des sujets ennemis en France.   |
| P. Crokaert:    | La neutralité belge et les conséquences juridiques de sa transgression.  |
| J. Gheusi:      | Les prisonniers de guerre et le refus d'obéissance entre eux.  |
| Giesker-Zeller: | Le régime juridique des biens des sujets ennemis en Allemagne.   |
| R. Japiot:      | Le moratorium judiciaire et les étrangers.   |
| Ch. Lyon-Caen:  | Conséquence de la prorogation des échéances des effets de commerce édictée à raison de la guerre dans les rapports des porteurs avec les endosseurs et tireurs des pays étrangers. |

- E. Oudin: Etat des traités et lois relatifs à la nationalité et à la naturalisation, en vigueur dans les principaux pays au 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1917.
- A. Reulos: Les séquestres et la gestion des biens des sujets ennemis en France.
- G. Sauser-Hall: La nationalité et la naturalisation en droit suisse.
- M. Travers: Application aux rapports entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne des conventions de La Haye, de droit privé.
- H. Weil: La nationalité dans les rapports de l'Allemagne avec les Etats-Unis et les traités Bancroft.

Not the least interesting feature of this magazine is its department of analyses and extracts from current publications, on such subjects as the suppression of espionage in Switzerland, the torpedoing of hospital ships, the effect of the war on the conventions constituting international unions, the employment of reprisals, regulations that should be imposed on submarines in neutral ports and territorial waters, changes that should be introduced in the law on naturalization in England, deportation *en masse* and forcible subjection to labor of the civil population of occupied territory, etc.

It is not alone to the eminent director of this *Journal* that is due its remarkable attractiveness to readers interested in current development. The personnel of the *Journal's* collaborators, too, consists of eminent and representative men from countries situated in all parts of the world, which ensures a catholicity of viewpoint and a breadth of vision greatly enhancing its value.

The total number of pages of the 1917 issues, exclusive of indexes, is 1,904 pages, as compared with 1,728 pages in 1916 and 1,232 pages in 1915. This concrete evidence of steady growth is in itself ample assurance that the aid of the Endowment is well placed; and the Director therefore recommends that the subvention granted to this magazine be renewed for the ensuing year.

#### REVUE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL ET DE LÉGISLATION COMPARÉE

No issues of this Belgian periodical have appeared during the European War. The report for the calendar year 1914, received from the editor in chief, Mr. Edouard Rolin Jaequemyns, showed the financial condition of the *Revue* to be satisfactory, and its temporary suspension to be due to difficulties in communicating with collaborators in foreign countries, and in forwarding the *Revue* to subscribers.

This review is the senior in the field of international law. For many years it was the only journal of international law, and for a long time it was the official organ of the Institute of International Law. Founded in 1869 by Messrs. Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns, father of the present editor in chief, T. M. C. Asser and John Westlake, it had appeared continuously for forty-five years when the outbreak of the European War caused its suspension.

The subvention of \$1,000 granted by the Executive Committee in 1916, con-

ditional upon resumption of publication, has not been remitted. Available until June 30, 1918, it will on that date revert to the treasury, unless the *Revue* by its reappearance warrants the transmission of the subvention.

#### REVUE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL PRIVÉ ET DE DROIT PÉNAL INTERNATIONAL

This French review of private international law and international penal law has appeared only at irregular intervals since 1914. Since the Director's last annual report the Endowment's library has received the numbers for 1915 and 1916, consisting of three issues. These three issues in combination are denominated Volumes XI and XII for 1915 and 1916. This double volume consists of 738 pages as against 852 pages in 1914, and follows the usual plan of leading articles, reviews of current periodicals, and departments dealing with congresses and conferences, documents, current events, and miscellaneous news. Two issues (numbers 1 to 3) for 1917 have been received and it is hoped that henceforth the date of publication will more nearly correspond with the dates on the magazines themselves.

A remittance of 5,000 francs to this *Revue* was made in June of last year, covering the subventions for the combined volume for 1915-1916 above mentioned. Lack of the required reports from the management of this review renders it impracticable to make any recommendation at the present time concerning the continuance of the Endowment's financial support.

#### REVUE GÉNÉRALE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC

This *Revue*, which was founded at Paris in 1893, is published in six numbers to the year by A. Pedone, one of the leading publishers of Paris. It receives from the Endowment a subvention of 7,500 francs, which has enabled its editors and publisher to continue the production of this periodical of great usefulness and value in the adverse and trying circumstances of war and even to expand it. The war itself has given a certain impetus to magazines of international law by causing inquiries regarding international rules and regulations on the part of the general public, and thus creating a demand for magazines of this nature containing authoritative articles by well known publicists and writers. The contents of the latest issue (May-August, 1917) received by the Endowment, which is given here in full, show better than description the field the *Revue* is covering:

- J. van den Heuvel (Minister of State of Belgium): The Deportation of Belgians into Germany;
- Charles Dupuis (Member of the Institute of International Law): An American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations;
- Paul Fauchille (Founder and Editor of the *Revue*): The Germans in occupied territory—a simple comparison of the law and the fact;
- Chronicle of International Events: On the rules applied by Italy during the European War to enemy merchantmen taking refuge in its ports (August 3, 1914–October 1, 1916);

Bibliographical Bulletin: Summaries of five of the latest books on topics of international law;

48 pages of documents upon the War of 1914 emanating from the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, the United States of America, France and Great Britain; and

34 pages of French prize decisions and decrees—War of 1914.

As is seen, the *Revue* is now making a feature of printing all French and foreign (in French translation) documents of the war involving principles of international law.

The Director takes pleasure in recommending that the subvention to this publication be continued for the year 1918-19.

#### RIVISTA DI DIRITTO INTERNAZIONALE

The *Rivista di Diritto Internazionale* is the Italian quarterly review of international law which the Endowment has been aiding for the last few years by an annual subscription to 100 copies.

This review is still under the able direction of Messrs. Dionisio Anzilotti and Arturo Ricci Busatti, who are maintaining in their recent issues the general excellence of the past.

With the year 1917 the *Rivista* entered upon its eleventh year, or, as the editors put it, "the third five-year period." As such a period has, for centuries among the Romans, in their lustrum, and the successors of their civilization, been considered to have a special quality of unity, the editors of the *Rivista* have thought it proper to reaffirm their purpose as follows:

Faithful to the purposes with which we assumed the publication of the *Rivista*, we shall continue in the path we have been treading and ensure, so far as we are able, that our work be not unworthy the aims which have inspired us; that is, to be an organ and a center of the various national activities in the field of the science of international law, and to contribute in some measure to the progress of a study which the changes of the future will doubtless clothe with new and ever increasing importance, both in the field of ideas and in that of their application. If, from the fierce clashes of the present day, law and humanity are to emerge more purified and firm, as the tempered steel from the fire and din of the forge, if it is for this result that this struggling and this dying are destined, our faith can not be in vain that this law at which we labor will furnish in the fortunate time of peace a more tenacious cement for a better international system of states; that, thanks to it, not only will the losses occasioned by the war be speedily repaired, but human well-being will increase in the renewed intercourse and relations of every kind between all peoples; that new horizons therefore will disclose themselves even for the studies to which the *Rivista* is dedicated.

In the practical program of our work we do not believe we should make any substantial change. We are content if we can with assiduity improve its concrete realization, filling here and there the gaps, and remedying the defects, which we are not slow to discover in our modest work. We can certainly do this if we are assisted by the powerful aid of those who are interested in the same field of study. For their valued collaboration, for

their occasional suggestions touching the program of the *Rivista*, we extend to them our sincerest gratitude; and we are likewise grateful to those who approve the publication of our periodical and observe its course with good will.

We shall consequently keep unchanged in their general lines the various departments into which we have divided the contents of the magazine. We purpose giving greater space, however, to the Chronicle and to Court Decisions, in order better to take into account the current happenings involving questions of international law and judgments uttered in various countries in this field of law—in sum, to follow always more closely the progressive positive development of the law in contact with concrete reality. We purpose further to extend the department of "International Documents" by publishing noteworthy documents issued by the legislatures and administrative departments of governments.

The last number of Volume X contains analytical indexes of the first ten volumes, that is, from the beginning of the publication of the *Rivista*. This adds to the surpassing interest of the *Rivista* as a commentary on the present, the more lasting and ever increasing value of a workable repository. It may not be amiss here to remark that not a few periodicals carrying articles and documents of permanent value apparently underrate the importance of cumulative indexes.

Whereas a small deficit appeared in the annual report to the Endowment for the year 1916, as stated in the Director's last report, the year 1917 has shown a marked improvement in the financial condition of the magazine. The subscription price has been raised from 16 lire to 18 lire both in Italy and abroad. The continuance of the Endowment's subscription to 100 copies is recommended.

#### REVISTA AMERICANA DE DERECHO INTERNACIONAL

The Spanish edition of the *American Journal of International Law*, the publication of which under this title is financed by the Endowment, has been regularly translated, printed and distributed during the preceding year. The annual proceedings of the American Society of International Law and the second number of the Special Supplement to the Journal issued in October, 1916, containing a continuation of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States with belligerent governments relating to neutral rights and duties, have likewise been printed and distributed.

Owing to the difficulties of communication and to the general economic retrenchment at the present time, it has not been possible to push the circulation of the *Revista* to the extent desired. It has, however, held its own, and fourteen new members have been added during the calendar year 1917. Increasing interest has been shown in the *Revista* in official quarters and several complete sets have been purchased by South American governments.

In spite of the increased costs of translating assistance and publication, the management of the *Revista* has been able to keep its costs within the limits of the amount of the original allotment made six years ago, and the same amount is asked for the ensuing year.



### Aid to the Publication of Books

In accordance with the policy of the Division adopted in 1912, pursuant to the recommendation of the Consultative Committee of the Institute of International Law, of encouraging by financial support the publication of works dealing with or relating to international law which, notwithstanding their evident scientific interest are not, because of their limited commercial market, of interest to publishers,<sup>1</sup> the Division has aided the publication of several such works during the preceding year, as follows:

NEW METHODS OF ADJUSTING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES,  
BY SIR THOMAS BARCLAY

This work was described in the Director's report for 1916 in connection with his recommendation then made that aid be granted in its publication.<sup>2</sup> The Trustees voted the desired appropriation, the book has been published, and 440 copies, the sale of which it is estimated will cover the cost of publication, have been subscribed for by the Endowment and are now being distributed.

ENGLISH EDITION OF FIORE'S "IL DIRITTO INTERNAZIONALE CODIFICATO"

The original recommendation for the publication of this work was contained in the Director's report for 1912.<sup>3</sup> The progress which has been made in the translation by Professor Edwin M. Borchard, of Yale University, since the work was authorized has been annually reported.<sup>4</sup> During the past year the translation has been finished and turned over to a publisher, the Endowment agreeing to purchase 500 copies to recoup them for the cost of the publication. From the report of the publishers on the progress of this work, it is expected that the volume will appear before the annual meeting of the Trustees takes place.

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS, BY DR. T. J. LAWRENCE

Among the recommendations contained in the Director's report for 1914<sup>5</sup> was one to aid in the publication of a revised and enlarged edition of the essay by Dr. Lawrence on the *Evolution of Peace*. Since this recommendation was approved, Dr. Lawrence has delivered a course of lectures before the University of Bristol entitled "The Society of Nations, its Present, Past and Future" which, he states, embody the main thoughts of the essay on the *Evolution of Peace* worked out to suit modern conditions. The general titles of these lectures are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1912, pages 104, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 177.

<sup>3</sup> Year Book, 1912, page 155.

<sup>4</sup> Year Book, 1913-14, page 164; 1915, page 143; 1916, page 176.

<sup>5</sup> Year Book, 1913-14, page 171.

1. The origin of international society.
2. The growth of international society.
3. International society as it stood in July, 1914.
4. The partial overthrow of international society and international law.
5. The rebuilding of international society and international law. (Two lectures.)

Dr. Lawrence has suggested that instead of aiding in the publication of a revised edition of his essay, the proposed aid be diverted to the publication of the above lectures in volume form. This proposal has been recommended by the Director and approved by the Executive Committee, and arrangements are being made for the publication of the lectures.

#### A REPUBLIC OF NATIONS, BY PROFESSOR RALEIGH C. MINOR

This is a study in world government and world peace by the well known authority on constitutional and private international law of the University of Virginia. The study is a carefully worked out plan for an international federal political body. Professor Minor has put into the work the study of a lifetime in the science of government, and the Director, while not desiring to commit the Endowment to an approval of the plan by the publication of the manuscript over its imprint, believes the work to be well worthy of encouragement and that its publication by private publishers would be useful. Upon his recommendation the Executive Committee has, therefore, authorized the purchase of 300 copies of this work to enable the author to secure its publication.

#### HUGO GROTIUS: THE FATHER OF THE MODERN SCIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, BY HAMILTON VREELAND, JR.

This is a work upon the life of Grotius, who is popularly regarded as the founder of international law, detailing particularly his work as a jurist, international lawyer, statesman and diplomatist. The manuscript was originally prepared and accepted as a dissertation of the author for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University. As such it has received the commendation of the appropriate authorities of that institution. Information regarding the life and work of Grotius is not easy to obtain in this country, and the Director thought it would be useful to encourage the publication of the work at this time and place it in selected libraries where those who are interested in the history of the development of international law may make use of it. He accordingly, with the approval of the Executive Committee, subscribed for 425 copies which have been distributed to the Endowment depositories.

#### DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE WAR

During the last two years the Endowment has aided in the publication in volume form of the correspondence of the United States Government, prior to its entry into the war, with belligerent governments regarding neutral rights

and commerce. The aid has taken the form of the purchase and circulation of a large number of copies of the Special Supplements to the *American Journal of International Law* issued in July, 1915, and October, 1916, containing the texts of the correspondence printed from official sources. The titles of the subjects covered by the correspondence are given in the Director's reports for 1916 and 1917.<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence so far published in this form stops in October, 1916, and it is very desirable that the correspondence which ensued from that date up to April 6, 1917, when the United States became a belligerent, be published so as to complete the series. The Executive Committee has authorized similar aid to the third and final volume of this correspondence but, owing to the congestion of work in the Department of State incident to the war, this additional correspondence has not yet been made available for publication. It is understood, however, that the work of collecting it for such use is about completed and the appearance of the final volume may be expected within a few months.

#### PIGGOTT'S SERIES DEALING WITH THE RIGHTS OF BELLIGERENTS AND NEUTRALS AT SEA

Favorable action has been taken by the Executive Committee upon the recommendation of the Director upon a request from Sir Francis Piggott, formerly legal adviser to the Prime Minister of Japan, Chief Justice of Hong Kong, adviser to the President of China and author of several standard works on public law, for financial assistance in the publication of a series of books to be compiled and edited by him dealing with belligerent and neutral rights at sea, especially during the periods of the armed neutralities, the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean War.

These volumes will contain or be based upon original dispatches and documents from the British Public Record Office, old books from the British Museum, the Foreign Office, the United Services Institution, and other libraries. They will include the publication of hitherto unpublished documents and a collection of documents such as the Orders in Council of 1807 and the Berlin and Milan Decrees which are at present only to be found scattered in many different volumes.

It is inevitable that after the war maritime law will be reconsidered by the powers. The contemplated publications will be of the utmost value when that time comes and it is intended that the volumes shall be ready for use when such a conference of the powers meets.

While the Division has been unable to grant the full measure of financial assistance requested by the author, it has been decided to assist in the publication of the following works included in the series:

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1916, page 171; 1917, page 139.

*The English Classics on the Rights of Belligerent and Neutral*

The *Réponse sans Réplique* to Frederick the Great: 1753.

Lord Liverpool's Discourse on Neutral Rights: 1758.

Lee on Captures in War: 1759.

Ward on Rights of Belligerent and Neutral: 1801.

Hall on Neutral and Belligerent Rights: 1874.

Letters of Historicus: 1863.

These volumes will be reprints of valuable old English works which are out of print and practically unobtainable.

*Standard Works on Historical-International Subjects*

The Armed Neutralities: 1700-1800. 2 vols.

The Declaration of Paris: 1856.

These volumes are stated to be authoritative works on the two periods when the rights of neutrals were the subject of the historical conflicts between England and Europe, the details of which the author states are entirely unknown, as the historians have hardly touched them. Among the documents to be included is the "Maritime Code" drafted by Catherine of Russia in 1802, which the author has discovered in the Public Record Office.

Documentary History of the French Wars: 1793 to 1813. 2 vols.

A book of reference containing all the documents issued during the great wars, which are now scattered in many volumes. A summary of them will be supplied by the author.

The assistance from the Endowment will take the form of an agreement to purchase a sufficient number of copies of each of the volumes to cover the cost of publication.

In order that the series may appear under a collective sponsorship instead of under the responsibility of an individual editor, the Director has suggested that the series be issued under the imprint of the Grotius Society of London, an organization of leading publicists of Great Britain devoted to the maintenance and development of international law whose work has already received the approval of the Endowment by the grant of a subvention.<sup>1</sup>

## LECTURES ON AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, BY DR. HELIO LOBO

In addition to the aid granted to the above publications, the Director has been authorized to aid in the publication of a series of lectures on American diplomatic history delivered at Harvard University by Dr. Helio Lobo, Secretary to the President of Brazil. Arrangements for that publication are now in course of preparation.

<sup>1</sup> See report on this society, herein, page 160.

### Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union

For many years the Director has had in mind a collection of cases of the Supreme Court in controversies between States and an essay on the practice and procedure of the Supreme Court in such matters,<sup>1</sup> and he is happy to state that the cases are selected, and that the essay is prepared and likewise in press. The cases are seventy-eight in number, and with some introductory matter showing the origin of the United States and the States composing it, and the nature and extent of the judicial power, they make up two stately volumes of small quarto format. Of the same format, the essay consisting of an introductory portion on the origin of the Supreme Court and the nature of its jurisdiction in controversies between States, analyzes and summarizes each of the cases, and in a concluding chapter endeavors to show that the Supreme Court, as the Court of the States of the American Union, is in form and in fact, the prototype of that Court of Justice which shall one day be established for the society of nations "accessible to all, in the midst of independent Powers." The cases are separate and distinct from the essay; neither is complete without the other, or rather, each leads to a better understanding of the other and the subject-matter of both.

It is a truism and a commonplace of American advocates of peaceable settlement, that the Supreme Court of the United States is a fit model for that international tribunal which they advocate as the Court of Nations, and which they confidently believe will one day be established as such. These statements are, however, of a very general kind, and as such are not calculated to carry conviction. They strengthen the faith, it may be, of those already convinced, but they do not make converts to the cause. Europeans are not accustomed to a court passing upon the exercise of sovereign powers and setting aside acts of the legislature as inconsistent with an organic act, though it be a constitution of the country. They must, therefore, satisfy themselves that this can safely be done, and for this purpose selected judgments of the Supreme Court are essential.

In the next place, if the Court is to pass upon the acts of sovereign States, in accordance with a convention creating such a Court, however limited its jurisdiction may be, their scruples can best be overcome by decisions of the Supreme Court in controversies between States of the American Union, which in matters of justice are, and ever have been considered sovereign States, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court both before and after the Civil War. Of the many, three will be given, one before, and two subsequent to the war between the States. In the very leading case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* (4 Wheaton, 316, 403), decided in 1819, Chief Justice Marshall said:

No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the American people into one common mass. Of consequence, when they act, they act in their States.

<sup>1</sup> Year Book, 1917, page 145.

In delivering the opinion of the court, in *Collector v. Day* (11 Wallace, 113, 124), decided in 1870, Mr. Justice Nelson said:

The general government, and the States, although both exist within the same territorial limits, are separate and distinct sovereignties, acting separately and independently of each other, within their respective spheres. The former in its appropriate sphere is supreme; but the States within the limits of their powers not granted, or, in the language of the tenth amendment, "reserved," are as independent of the general government as that government within its sphere is independent of the States.

And in 1905, Mr. Justice Brewer, delivering the opinion of the court, in *South Carolina v. United States* (199 U. S. 437, 448), said:

We have in this Republic a dual system of government, National and State, each operating within the same territory and upon the same persons; and yet working without collision, because their functions are different. There are certain matters over which the National Government has absolute control and no action of the State can interfere therewith, and there are others in which the State is supreme, and in respect to them the National Government is powerless. To preserve the even balance between these two governments and hold each in its separate sphere is the peculiar duty of all courts, preeminently of this,—a duty oftentimes of great delicacy and difficulty.

These passages have been quoted in order to show that we are dealing with States, not with provinces, and, therefore, the experience of the Supreme Court in dealing with States can be of service to those willing to establish an International Court to pass upon the conflicting claims of nations, in accordance with the terms of an agreement to that effect, provided they see that what they are asked to do has been, and therefore, can be done. The seventy-eight cases decided by the Supreme Court are seventy-eight arguments and demonstrations.

Again, many foreign publicists fear that it is impossible to invest a court with the trial of judicial questions, inasmuch as this term is indifferent and the line of separation between judicial and political questions is either non-existent, or so difficult to draw that only the nations in suit, and presumably the defendant nation, can be trusted to draw it. That was the objection made to the Director by a delegate of an important country to the Second Hague Peace Conference, who was in favor of a permanent court and whose country was a joint proposer of it with the United States. The answer then given briefly, but given at great length in the collection of cases, is, that for more than a century a Supreme Court of the United States has interpreted the expression "judicial power" and has repeatedly been called upon to draw the line, and has drawn it successfully between judicial questions, on one hand, and political questions, on the other. The most recent case of this kind is *Pacific Telephone Company v. Oregon* (223 U. S. 118), decided in 1912, in which Mr. Chief Justice White delivered the unanimous opinion of the court. But perhaps the best answer to this objection, which is admittedly of a serious nature, is to be found in the controversies between the States, decided by the Supreme Court, in which it was repeatedly urged that the

dispute was of a political nature whereof the court could not take jurisdiction. In case after case this matter was considered, and the distinction between judicial and political questions determined and drawn,—notably in the great and leading case of *Rhode Island v. Massachusetts* (12 Peters, 657), decided in 1838. The opinion of Mr. Justice Baldwin in this case, against the contentions of Webster who appeared as counsel for Massachusetts, is the text of those who believe in judicial settlement and the refutation of its opponents.

Finally, it is objected that no sovereign State can allow itself to be forced into court, or can be compelled by physical force to execute a judgment of a court. Fortunately, the experience of the Supreme Court of the United States tends to show that force in these cases is not essential, at least a State of the American Union can not be compelled to appear and to litigate a case upon the complaint of another State of the Union, and the judgment had against it in such a case is not to be executed by force. Such are the decisions of the Supreme Court, hitherto unquestioned, much less overruled. Thus, in *Massachusetts v. Rhode Island* (12 Peters, 755, 761), decided in 1838, the court said: "In suits against a State, if the State shall refuse or neglect to appear, upon due service of process, no coercive measures will be taken to compel appearance; but the complainant, or plaintiff, will be allowed to proceed *ex parte*." And in *Kentucky v. Dennison* (24 Howard, 66, 109-110), the court held that "there is no power delegated to the General Government, either through the Judicial Department or any other department, to use any coercive means."

But it is unnecessary to dwell upon these matters longer; they have merely been mentioned to show that the objections made by opponents of judicial settlement can be met and overcome by the experience of the Supreme Court in the collection of adjudged cases between States now in press. It is familiarly said that "where there's a will there's a way," and the Supreme Court points out the way.

### Miscellaneous Work

Finally, the Division as in previous years has been called upon from many quarters for memoranda or letters of guidance upon a multiplicity of questions touching subjects of international law and American policy in its foreign relations. Some of the subjects of inquiry considered during the past year were the most favored nation clause, trading with the enemy, treaties of peace since the peace of Westphalia and their provisions, the rights of unnaturalized declarants, bureaus for prisoners of war under the Hague Conventions, compulsory military service of aliens in law and practice, construction of the selective draft law, and prohibition of the export of munitions of war. It is expected that as the teaching of international law becomes more widespread in American institutions of learning these inquiries will increase, and the Division will gladly lend its assistance, when solicited, so far as the immediate demands upon its time for the preparation of publications will permit.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,

*Director of the Division of International Law.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 20, 1918.

## APPENDIX

### Appeal of the American Institute of International Law to the Publicists of Central America in Behalf of the Maintenance of the Central American Court of Justice

WASHINGTON, *March 1, 1918.*

The Central American Court of Justice is the first permanent international tribunal which has been created, and it is justly cited as a model of what such tribunals should be. It has strongly contributed to strengthen good relations between and amongst the Republics of Central America by solving arduous and difficult problems which threatened to disturb their peaceful intercourse. But, unfortunately, it has not been the same in respect to the judgment of the Court in the case of Costa Rica against Nicaragua in which the action of the last named Republic is concerned, and in which it is declared that: "The Government of Nicaragua has violated, to the injury of Costa Rica, the rights granted to the latter by the Cañas-Jerez Treaty of Limits of April fifteen, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight, by the Cleveland Award of March twenty-second, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, and by the Central American Treaty of Peace and Amity of December twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven." It is well known that some of the parties in interest do not accept this judgment, and that, for this reason, the very existence of the Court of Justice, which was founded under such good auspices, is greatly threatened. It has even been affirmed that the Central American Republics are not in accord as to the renewal of the Treaty of December 20, 1907, which brought the Court into existence.

The American Institute of International Law has always had reason to congratulate the existence of the Central American Court of Justice as a high court of arbitration which has rendered and is likely to render invaluable service to the Republics which contributed to its establishment. In fact, during the second session held in Habana the latter part of January, 1917, after unanimous expressions of eulogy of and the necessity to preserve the said Court, it was resolved to send to it a vote of sympathy, which was recorded in the Final Act as follows:

On motion of Messrs. Luis Anderson and José Matos, the Institute unanimously adopted a vote of sympathy to the Central American Court of Justice, the First Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice in the world, created by the convention concluded on December 20, 1907, among the Republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, recommending its maintenance and prestige, which are guarantees of peace among the Central American Republics.

A vote of appreciation was also accorded to Dr. Luis Anderson and Dr. Antonio Batres Jáuregui, two distinguished charter members of the Institute, who subscribed as Plenipotentiaries of their respective countries the convention creating the said Court.

The above resolution was communicated by cable to the governments of the five Republics and to the Court itself, and very courteous and satisfactory answers were received from all of them.

It is well known that, since their emancipation, the Central American countries have at several times endeavored to bring themselves into closer relationship and even to constitute a single political entity. It is not necessary at this time to recount all the efforts nor the several treaties which, to realize these aspirations, were made or concluded by them in the course of the last century and the first few years of the present; but it is useful to bring to mind, because it is the most far reaching and fortunate step taken by these Republics, the circumstances which gave origin to the Central American Court of Justice.

Soon after the political disturbance which in 1907 agitated that part of the continent, the United States and Mexico felt themselves compelled to intervene, and afterwards took the initiative for the holding of a peace conference at Washington. Upon the inauguration of the sessions of this conference, which was attended not only by the delegates of the five Central American Republics, but also by the representatives of the United States and of Mexico, the Secretary of State



of the United States, the Honorable Elihu Root, in order to emphasize the importance of the meeting, made, among other remarks, the following:

The people of the United States are sincere believers in the principles that you are seeking to apply to the conduct of your international affairs in Central America. They sincerely desire the triumph and the control of the principles of liberty and order everywhere in the world. They specially desire that the blessings which follow the control of those principles may be enjoyed by all the people of our sister Republics in the Western Hemisphere, and we further believe that it will be, from the most selfish point of view, for our interests to have peaceful, prosperous and progressive Republics in Central America.

And after recounting the frequent former attempts made to reach an international agreement, which had all failed, he added:

Yet I can not resist the impression that we have at last come to the threshold of a happier day for Central America. Time is necessary to political development. I have great confidence in the judgment that in the long course of time, through successive steps of failure, through the accompanying education of your people, through the encouraging examples which now, more than ever before, surround you, success will be attained in securing unity and progress in other countries of the New Hemisphere. Through the combination of all these, you are at a point in your history where it is possible for you to take a forward step that will remain.

And he concluded by saying:

It is my most earnest hope, it is the hope of the American Government and people, that from this conference may come the specific and practical measures which will enable the people of Central America to march in equal step abreast of the most progressive nations of modern civilization, to fulfill their great destinies in that brotherhood which nature has intended them to preserve, and to exile forever from the land of beauty and of wealth incalculable the fraternal strife which has hitherto held you back in the development of your civilization.

The same Secretary of State of the United States made the following remarks at the closing session of the Conference:

I beg you, gentlemen, to accept my hearty and sincere congratulations. The people of Central America, withdrawn to a great distance from the scene of your labors, may not know, but I wish that my voice might reach each one of them to tell them that during the month that has passed their loyal representatives have been doing for them in sincerity and in the discharge of patriotic duty a service which stands upon the highest level of the achievements of the most advanced modern civilization. You have each one of you been faithful to the protection of the interests of your several countries; you have each one of you exhibited patience, kindly consideration, regard for the rights and feelings of others, and a willingness to meet with open mind the opinions and wishes of your fellow-countrymen; you have pursued the true method by which law, order, peace, and justice are substituted for the unrestrained dominion of the strong over the weak, and you have reached conclusions which I believe are wise and are well adapted to advance the progress of each and all of the Central American Republics toward that much to be desired consummation in the future of one great, strong, and happy Central American Republic.

The Mexican Ambassador, on his part, among other things, said:

The Conference has furthermore a significance and meaning of great interest for mankind, because it is a further step toward the pacific settlement of international disputes through the appeal to reason and justice, a perfect knowledge and just consideration of the facts and the sound and tranquil judgment of learned jurists and statesmen, and because it brings us nearer to the creation of courts which with a high conception of their mission, shall impart justice to the nations as they administer it to individuals.

And during the closing session the same Ambassador said:

The Central American Peace Conference marks in the world's history two events of great importance. As far as five Republics of the American Continent are concerned, it is the happy beginning of a new era. It is the symbol of peace and of justice, to which a noble and generous race is rightly entitled. It is the historic moment when Central America finds the right path which will lead it on to a prosperous destiny. As far as the world is concerned, it is the organization of an International Court which brings hopes for universal peace. Its success must be interesting to all the nations of the globe.

The Minister for Foreign Relations of Costa Rica, Dr. Luis Anderson, answering the above remarks, said:

Civilization can not allow that in the family of nations there be one which does not work or does not bring forth the common benefit, the full contingent of its energies, and of the immense wealth with which nature has endowed it, because all nations are jointly responsible in the process of human progress.

However, and I lament to say this, we are backward in paying this duty because of this unprofitable strife in which some of the Republics have spent their energies and which has kept us estranged from the ideals our forefathers had in mind when they, regardless of sacrifice, gave us country and liberty.

It was a divine inspiration which led the Presidents of our sisters of the North at the moment when Central American soil was threatened with new bloodshed—brothers' blood—to raise their friendly voices bidding the murderous arm to stop and calling us to Washington to undertake, in a brotherly conference, the work of peace—peace which raises and gives dignity to nations and leads them on the road to civilization and happiness.

During the final session, Dr. Anderson said:

I found that all the Central American Delegations came inspired with an earnest and sincere brotherly feeling to accomplish something lasting and of mutual benefit.

All differences, all obstacles, all barriers to our happiness and prosperity have been wiped out and the new Central American brotherhood established upon a sound foundation.

As they are related to these peace conferences may we not quote here nearly all the touching and beautiful words pronounced by Mr. Carnegie when the delegates congratulated him upon his noble and valuable efforts in behalf of universal peace:

Now, in your deliberations you will find difficulties in detail and many points of difference, but, gentlemen, if you all do your duty before you separate you will give to the world an example of fraternity and progress and to Europe a proof that nations may live in brotherly kindness. For what is Europe? An armed camp. Armed against whom? Against the foreigner? No! against itself. Why, it is the arm against the leg, the head against the foot. The several nations of Europe armed against the nations of Europe! Why, it is hari-kari! It is massacre. There are no enemies of Europe except Europe.

Now, we are all Americans here. It does not matter a fig whether you are north of an imaginary line or not, does it? No! Then, for Heaven's sake, gentlemen, put aside all trifling matters. Remember the high mission which God has given you, and, before you separate, make this agreement, that your differences will all be amicably settled by arbitration. When a man says, "I will not arbitrate my cause," and the other man says, "I will not arbitrate my cause," then they break the moral law. If a man has a dispute with another, under our law, and he will not arbitrate his cause, but would establish his contention by force, he breaks the law. He becomes a lawbreaker and practically dishonored. Why should it not be so with our respective countries?

I am so imbued with this feeling of brotherhood that my heart goes out to each one of you representatives of the South, and representatives of the North also. Oh! if I had but one prayer to offer—I do not ask for things in prayer any more, because there have been given me so many things that I do not deserve that I would be ashamed to ask for more—but if I had but one prayer I would petition: "O God! lead these legislators representing their different countries to unite in the firm bonds of peace; lead them to take each other by the hand and say 'my brother.'"

While the vote of sympathy to the Central American Court of Justice was under discussion in Habana, the President of the Institute said:

Since I am on my feet I avail myself of the opportunity, as the diplomatists would say, to make a further observation and to recall a remark which Mr. Root made to me only a few days before my departure for Habana to attend this session of the Institute that, in recommending the formation of a court for the Central American Republics, he had the larger purpose in mind, to show the nations of the world (which had just failed in the Hague Conference, to create the Court of Arbitral Justice) that an international court could be formed, if the contracting parties really wished one, and, by its organization not merely to point them the way but to familiarize them with the administration of justice by an international tribunal on a small scale, in the hope that, encouraged by its beneficent results, they might in the fulness of

knowledge and in the light of experience create an agency for its administration upon a larger scale. And the twofold purpose which he had in mind, and which the delegates shared, was accomplished by the creation and the successful operation of this Court, because it has been pointed to repeatedly as the first step taken to secure the judicial settlement of international disputes by means of a tribunal, specially created to this end, and its activity has shown to distant and disinterested observers the possibility of judicial decisions by means of an agency of the contracting parties.

In speaking thus of Mr. Root, I would not have you think that I minimize or undervalue the services of the Central American Republics in its creation, nor that I would withdraw from them the honor of the first truly international judiciary. The conference of the five Central American Republics met in Washington, and the Court was the Court of their hands, for the settlement of disputes which might arise among them. But, primarily intended for them, it was not limited solely to them, as it opened its doors to any and every nation that might care to avail itself of the tribunal.

With these preliminary observations, let me call your attention to several of the articles of the convention, which show the nature of the tribunal and the extent to which it may properly serve as a precedent to the society of nations. The first article reads as follows:

"The high contracting parties agree by the present convention to constitute and maintain a permanent tribunal which shall be called the 'Central American Court of Justice,' to which they bind themselves to submit all controversies or questions which may arise among them, of whatsoever nature and no matter what their origin may be, in case the respective Departments of Foreign Affairs should not have been able to reach an understanding."

This article, it will be observed, presupposes that the foreign offices of the different countries have dealt with the questions and that they have failed to settle them. In order, therefore, that an agency of good will might intervene between the failure of diplomacy and the appeal to the sword, this Court was created.

The next article carries the matter a little further by providing that not merely the Central American Republics, but that their citizens can avail themselves in certain specified cases of the services of the Court. Thus, the second article provides:

"This Court shall also take cognizance of the questions which individuals of one Central American country may raise against any of the other contracting governments, because of the violation of treaties or conventions, and other cases of an international character; no matter whether their own government supports said claim or not; and provided that the remedies which the laws of the respective country provide against such violation shall have been exhausted or that denial of justice shall have been shown."

The jurisdiction of the Court in such a case, while extended to individuals, is very properly made to depend upon the fact that resort to the Court shall not be the beginning but only the end of due process of law, that the local remedies shall have been tried and exhausted or that a denial of justice be shown.

The third article extends to governments the same right accorded to individuals. Thus:

"It shall also take cognizance of the cases which by common accord the contracting governments may submit to it, no matter whether they arise between two or more of them or between one of said governments and individuals."

Finally, Article 4 enlarges in the following manner the jurisdiction of the Court so as to include a controversy between a Central American country and any member of the society of nations:

"The Court can likewise take cognizance of the international questions which by special agreement any one of the Central American Governments and a foreign government may have determined to submit to it."

It is, I believe, sufficiently evident from these four articles which I have ventured to quote that the Central American Conference, in legislating for itself, was not forgetful of the larger interests of the society of nations.

Leaving this phase of the subject, let me call your attention to other articles of this very remarkable convention. Thus, Article 21 provides that:

"In deciding points of fact that may be raised before it, the Central American Court of Justice shall be governed by its free judgment, and with respect to points of law, by the principles of International Law. The final judgment shall cover each one of the points in litigation."

This means, of course, that the Court is to act as a judicial body, that its members are to find the facts and to apply the principle of law when ascertained, as judges, not as agents, of their respective governments: that is to say, as judges acting under a sense of judicial, not as diplomats acting under a sense of diplomatic obligation.

In the next article the Court is specifically invested with a function inherent in a court of justice. Thus, it is said:

"The Court is competent to determine its jurisdiction, interpreting the Treaties and Conventions germane to the matter in dispute, and applying the principles of international law."

What is the effect to be given to the judgment of the Court? This subject was too important to be left to the determination of a country whose contention the Court had rejected. On this point Article 25 is very pointed, saying:

"The interested parties solemnly bind themselves to submit to said judgments, and all agree to lend all moral support that may be necessary in order that they may be properly fulfilled, thereby constituting a real and positive guarantee of respect for this Convention and for the Central American Court of Justice."

And, finally, I quote Article 27 without comment other than to say that the Convention itself was concluded on December 20, 1907, and that the ten years specified in the article from the date of ratification have not yet run.

"The high contracting parties solemnly declare that on no ground nor in any case will they consider the present Convention as void; and that, therefore, they will consider it as being always in force during the term of ten years counted from the last ratification."

And the President of the Institute closed his remarks by saying:

I could not resist, Mr. President, in breaking a lance for the Court and in setting forth some of its characteristic features, because, in so doing, I felt I was not merely making clear the origin and nature of the Central American Court of Justice, but that I was also clearing the ground, as it were, for that larger court of international justice which we hope to see one day established, accessible to all, in the midst of the independent powers composing the society of nations. May the Central American Court prosper and continue, may it endear itself to the five Republics of Central America, as the Supreme Court of the United States has overcome the opposition made to it from time to time and has endeared itself to the States composing the American Union and to the peoples thereof, and by its successful operation, may it contribute not a little to the establishment of that larger court when the nations of the world shall be minded to turn their thoughts again to justice, which oils the ways of peace.

. . .

The undersigned have been strongly impressed by these facts, since it is among the principal objects of the Institute to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the American peoples; to aid in bringing about the triumph of the principles of justice and of humanity which should govern the relations between peoples; to contribute towards the maintenance of international peace and to increase the sentiment of fraternity in America. It is for these reasons that we are addressing today our distinguished colleagues of Central America to ask them to instruct and fortify with their intellect and prestige the public opinion of their respective countries, in order that it may demand and support the maintenance of the Court, discovering in it a strong bond of union and a guaranty of peace. The common origin of the five Republics and the political unity which has existed among them, the similarity of their constitutional systems, the harmony of their economic interests, the geographical situation and the similarity of their domestic and foreign problems, suggest the union and solidarity which must exist among them, and the advisability of not permitting anything to disturb their good relations.

To advocate the maintenance of this high tribunal is the same as asking that its judgments and decrees be faithfully respected by all countries, whether large or small, or whether they have cooperated or not in its creation. We have reasonable cause to believe that the Government of the United States is also greatly interested in the maintenance of the said Court, and that it will bow to its resolutions.

We should therefore greatly appreciate that you, together with your distinguished colleagues, study the most efficient methods of shaping public opinion in Central America in favor of the object suggested. The undersigned would venture to suggest that if it were considered possible, as one of the most adequate methods of attaining these ends, all the National Societies of International Law of the five Republics should come into close contact, or it might be better if they should meet together to study this matter and adopt such resolutions as they should deem more pertinent to this object.

But if such a reunion and personal cooperation should be impossible, they would suggest that

the members of the Institute in each of the five Central American Republics should meet and consider this question among themselves, enter into communication with their colleagues in the other Central American Republics, and bring the question before each of the respective National Societies of which they are members in order that it may be discussed not only sympathetically and in a spirit of conciliation but in its larger bearings, so that in a world at war the voice of the New World should be heard in behalf of the new ideal, and that the one Court, international in its origin and nature, fitted and competent to decide the quarrels of nations of a justiciable nature shall not go out of existence amid the conflict and clash of wars instead of appeasing the nations by the administration of justice.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,  
*President.*

ALEJANDRO ALVAREZ,  
*Secretary General.*



## REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE





REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

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GEO. W. PERKINS  
71 Broadway  
New York

*April 15, 1918.*

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, *Sec'y*,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
2 Jackson Place,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

The Finance Committee begs to report that the \$10,000,000, of U.S. Steel first mortgage 5 per cent bonds owned by the Endowment are on deposit in the vaults of the Hanover Safe Deposit Company. They were examined and counted on Monday, April 15, by Messrs. Franks and Perkins of the Committee, jointly with Mr. J. C. Bullwinkle of the American Audit Company, and the Audit Company has sent you a certificate as to the accuracy of the count.

The Government bonds bought by the Treasurer last year from the surplus and income account we take it will be accounted for by the Treasurer direct to the Board at the meeting to be held on April 19.

The income from the bonds has been paid over in full as heretofore to the Treasurer.

Very truly yours,

GEO. W. PERKINS,  
*Chairman.*



## REPORT OF THE TREASURER



# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

## Assets and Liabilities, March 31, 1918

Assets		
<b>Investments:</b>		
United States Steel Corporation, Series A, Registered 5% Gold Bonds.....	\$5,000,000.00	
United States Steel Corporation, Series C, Registered 5% Gold Bonds.....	5,000,000.00	\$10,000,000.00
<b>Reserve fund:</b>		
Income invested in United States Government Liberty Bonds, 3½%.....	\$112,500.00	
Interest on Liberty Bonds, collected to December 15, 1917	1,591.20	114,091.20
<b>Property and Equipment:</b>		
Real Estate; Administration buildings and site.....	\$184,000.00	
Furniture and fixtures.....	20,044.63	
Library.....	18,687.02	222,731.65
<b>Income Receivable:</b>		
Interest on \$5,000,000 United States Steel Corporation, Series A, Gold Bonds (accrued to March 31, 1918).....	\$62,500.00	
Interest on \$5,000,000 United States Steel Corporation, Series C, Gold Bonds (accrued to March 31, 1918).....	20,833.33	83,333.33
Advance to the Oxford University Press, American Branch.....		10,000.00
<b>Cash on hand:</b>		
Postage and petty cash funds.....	\$564.16	
Cash on deposit (drawing account).....	466,271.63	466,835.79
Excess of appropriations over revenues.....		434,524.00
		<u>\$11,331,515.97</u>
Liabilities		
<b>Endowment.....</b>		\$10,000,000.00
<b>Income appropriated for property and equipment.....</b>		222,731.65
<b>Unexpended appropriations to June 30, 1918:</b>		
Unallotted.....	\$755,809.55	
Allotted, but unexpended.....	401,610.19	
Less—Income receivable, to June 30, 1918, applicable thereagainst:	\$1,157,419.74	
Interest on the Endowment invested....	\$125,000.00	
Interest on income invested.....	1,968.75	
Interest on bank deposits (estimated)...	5,000.00	
	131,968.75	1,025,450.99
<b>Unappropriated funds, June 30, 1918:</b>		
Accrued on interest due August 31, 1918.....		83,333.33
		<u>\$11,331,515.97</u>

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918

Receipts		
Balance in the banks June 30, 1917.....		\$344,804.32
Interest on the Endowment to February 28, 1918.....	\$500,000.00	
Interest on deposits:		
With the Guaranty Trust Company to December 26, 1917.....	5,137.72	
Miscellaneous.....	66.16	
Interest on income invested:		
U. S. Liberty Bonds, to December 15, 1917.....	1,591.20	
Sales of publications.....	71.82	
Royalties on publications.....	2.20	
Miscellaneous receipts.....	52.18	
Refunds:		
By the European Bureau, on account of research work.....	1,454.25	
On account of allotment for 1914, for "Celebration of the hundredth anniversary of peace".....	1,000.00	
		509,375.53
		\$854,179.85
Disbursements		
SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION		
Salaries—officials.....	\$14,250.00	
Salaries—clerks.....	9,840.67	
Stationery and office expenses:		
Stationery.....	\$643.21	
Furniture.....	742.40	
Postage.....	548.09	
Freight and express.....	36.63	
Telegrams.....	43.23	
Printing and binding.....	1,069.34	
Repairs.....	1,153.32	
Miscellaneous.....	865.19	
	5,101.41	
Maintenance of headquarters:		
Taxes, storage, insurance and water rent \$1,018.43		
Fuel and lighting.....	1,209.92	
Telephone.....	310.21	
Messenger and janitor.....	1,335.17	
Repairs.....	300.50	
Miscellaneous.....	197.35	
	4,371.58	
Traveling expenses.....	708.24	
Purchase and distribution of published addresses of Mr. Root.....	298.49	
Emergency increase in salaries of employes.....	1,773.25	
Entertainment of distinguished visitors.....	9.65	
Contingencies.....	348.32	

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918

*Continued*

## Maintenance of the Library and for the Year

## Book:

Salaries.....\$1,834.88

Books, subscriptions and  
bindings.....\$1,500.31

Miscellaneous.....149.00

1,649.31Emergency increase in salaries of  
employees.....183.45

Year Book for 1917.....7,453.96

\$11,121.60

\$47,823.21

## DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

## Expenses of the Division in New York:

Salaries.....\$4,691.00

Rent.....1,199.97

Stationery.....235.76

Furniture.....20.40

Postage.....217.89

Freight and express.....47.84

Telegrams.....205.90

Fuel and lighting.....252.94

Printing.....628.73

Telephone.....102.74

Books and publications.....473.47

Repairs.....75.24

Miscellaneous.....313.11

\$8,464.99

Maintenance of the European Bureau.....9,197.58

Honoraria of the Special Correspondents.....2,950.00

Latin American exchange.....16,436.37

Preparation of material for textbooks.....434.17

Work through newspapers and periodicals.....17,130.48

Conference of representatives of the press.....7,218.06

American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.....81.51

Courses in universities on international relations.....2,500.00

Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors.....1,590.00

International Arbitration League.....953.00

American Association for International Conciliation...29,587.50

France-America Committee of New York.....1,875.00

Work through summer schools.....20,500.00

Emergency increase in salaries of employees.....1,037.35

Contingencies.....5,657.23

Publication of La Bibliothèque Américaine.....2,000.00

\$127,613.24

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918

*Continued*

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY		
Expenses of the Division in New York:		
Salaries.....	\$5,475.06	
Furniture.....	120.00	
Stationery.....	73.60	
Postage.....	49.71	
Freight and express.....	67.09	
Telegrams.....	5.69	
Books and publications.....	33.15	
Traveling expenses.....	34.60	
Repairs.....	7.65	
Miscellaneous.....	49.34	
		\$5,915.89
Honoraria of the Committee of Research.....		7,875.00
Translations of works of the Committee of Research. . .		2,621.91
Material for an economic study of the European War. .		2,949.60
Emergency increase in salaries of employes. ....		673.44
Research work.....		13,759.78
		<u>\$33,795.62</u>
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW		
Clerical assistance.....		\$7,177.39
Office expenses:		
Extra clerical assistance.....	\$729.97	
Storage and insurance.....	33.15	
Stationery.....	81.60	
Furniture.....	113.52	
Postage.....	39.05	
Freight and express.....	5.54	
Telegrams.....	139.16	
Printing.....	9.00	
Books and publications.....	65.55	
Repairs.....	21.00	
Miscellaneous.....	176.70	
		1,414.24
Pamphlet series.....		44.44
Collection and publication of international arbitrations		4,537.67
English summary of the Japanese Review of Inter-		
national Law.....		200.00
Publications of the Division.....		3,631.67
Publications of the American Institute of International		
Law.....		1,496.68
Meeting of the American Institute of International		
Law.....		758.82
French editions of works of the Division.....		1,730.34
Classics of International Law.....		5,377.50
Classic projects for international organization.....		600.00



## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918

*Continued*

Aid to international law journals:		
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law . . . . .	\$2,148.03	
Revue Générale de Droit International Public . . . . .	1,305.52	
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale . . . . .	320.00	
Japanese Review of International Law . . . . .	1,300.00	
Journal du Droit International . . . . .	1,743.68	
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée . . . . .	1,305.52	
Lecture tour of Mr. Alejandro Alvarez . . . . .	3,837.10	
Emergency increase in salaries of employes . . . . .	1,176.64	
Fellowships of international law . . . . .	6,562.50	
Documents regarding the international relations of China . . . . .	215.86	
Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens . . . . .	5.32	
Distribution of Vreeland's Hugo Grotius . . . . .	687.50	
Spanish edition of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relating to neutral rights and commerce . . . . .	2,629.08	
Official correspondence of the United States regarding the emancipation of Latin American countries . . . . .	1,750.00	
Madison's Notes of Debates in the Constitutional Convention . . . . .	140.00	
Aid to La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre . . . . .	300.00	
Aid to the Grotius Society of London . . . . .	1,250.00	
Proceedings of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes . . . . .	1,000.00	
Assistance for government work . . . . .	116.66	
	<hr/>	
	\$54,762.16	
Total disbursements for the fiscal year . . . . .	\$263,994.23	
Withdrawals from the postage fund during the fiscal year . . . . .	177.21	
	<hr/>	
	\$263,817.02	
Income invested in Liberty Bonds . . . . .	112,500.00	
Advance to the Oxford University Press, American Branch, on account of books of the Endowment in the course of publication . . . . .	10,000.00	
Cash on deposit in banks . . . . .	467,862.83	
	<hr/>	
	\$854,179.85	\$854,179.85

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from Dec. 14, 1910, to March 31, 1918

Receipts			
Interest on the Endowment to February 28, 1918 .....		\$3,565,906.25	
Interest on bank deposits to December 31, 1917 .....		67,806.05	
Interest on income invested .....		2,073.70	
Sales of publications .....		964.35	
Royalties on publications .....		592.60	
Proceeds from the sale of syndicated matter .....		6,623.90	
Miscellaneous receipts .....		434.38	
Total receipts .....			\$3,644,401.23
Disbursements			
Secretary's Office and General Administration .....	\$406,086.26		
Division of Intercourse and Education .....	1,598,622.22		
Division of Economics and History .....	349,537.26		
Division of International Law .....	515,228.50		
Purchase of administration buildings and site .....	184,000.00		
Total disbursements .....		\$3,053,474.24	
Cash on hand:			
Petty cash funds .....	\$210.00		
Postage fund .....	354.16		
		\$564.16	
Cash on deposit:			
Drawing account .....	\$466,271.63		
Reserve fund .....	1,591.20		
		467,862.83	
Reserve fund: Income invested in Liberty Bonds .....		468,426.99	
Advance to the Oxford University Press, American Branch .....		112,500.00	
		10,000.00	
		\$3,644,401.23	\$3,644,401.23

## Statement Showing the Condition of the Appropriations, March 31, 1918

	Appropriations	Allotments	Balance Unallotted
<b>Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917</b>			
Secretary's Office and General Administration . . .	\$44,250.00	\$44,250.00	
Maintenance of the Library and for the Year Book for 1917 . . . . .	12,320.00	12,320.00	
Division of Intercourse and Education . . . . .	230,500.00	228,910.07	\$1,589.93
Division of Economics and History . . . . .	116,000.00	92,500.00	23,500.00
Division of International Law . . . . .	126,300.00	126,156.67	143.33
Emergencies . . . . .	110,000.00	86,782.13	23,217.87
	<b>\$639,370.00</b>	<b>\$590,918.87</b>	<b>\$48,451.13</b>
<b>Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1918</b>			
Secretary's Office and General Administration . . .	\$47,610.00	\$47,610.00	
Maintenance of the Library and for the Year Book for 1918 . . . . .	12,440.00	12,440.00	
Division of Intercourse and Education . . . . .	235,000.00	222,700.00	\$12,300.00
Division of Economics and History . . . . .	121,000.00	28,000.00	93,000.00
Division of International Law . . . . .	193,945.00	91,886.58	102,058.42
Reconstruction of homes in France, Belgium, Ser- bia or Russia . . . . .	500,000.00		500,000.00
	<b>\$1,109,995.00</b>	<b>\$402,636.58</b>	<b>\$707,358.42</b>
Total for 1917 . . . . .	\$639,370.00	\$590,918.87	\$48,451.13
Total for 1918 . . . . .	1,109,995.00	402,636.58	707,358.42
	<b>\$1,749,365.00</b>	<b>\$993,555.45</b>	<b>\$755,809.55</b>

## Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1918

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
<b>Allotments of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917</b>			
<b>SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1917</b>			
Salaries—officials.....	\$16,500.00	\$16,500.00	
Salaries—clerks.....	13,620.00	13,605.00	\$15.00
Stationery and office expenses.....	6,100.00	6,100.00	
Maintenance of headquarters.....	4,530.00	4,530.00	
Traveling expenses.....	3,000.00	2,450.73	549.27
Contingencies.....	500.00	500.00	
	<b>\$44,250.00</b>	<b>\$43,685.73</b>	<b>\$564.27</b>
<b>MAINTENANCE OF THE LIBRARY AND FOR THE YEAR BOOK, 1917</b>			
Salaries of the librarian and assistant.....	\$2,320.00	\$2,320.00	
Purchases for the library.....	3,000.00	3,000.00	
Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1917.....	7,000.00	7,000.00	
	<b>\$12,320.00</b>	<b>\$12,320.00</b>	
<b>DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1917</b>			
Expenses of the Division in New York.....	\$12,600.00	\$12,256.75	\$343.25
Maintenance of the European Bureau and Secre- tariat.....	16,000.00	9,110.44	6,889.56
Aid to periodicals:			
Die Friedens-Warte.....	4,312.91	4,312.91	
La Paix par le Droit.....	1,278.93	1,278.93	
Honoraria of the Special Correspondents.....	3,900.00	3,900.00	
International Arbitration League.....	953.00	953.00	
American Association for International Concilia- tion.....	38,416.32	38,416.32	
France-America Committee of New York.....	2,500.00	2,500.00	
Latin American exchange.....	40,000.00	16,216.23	23,783.77
American Peace Society.....	25,000.00	25,000.00	
New York Peace Society.....	6,000.00	6,000.00	
Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors...	3,448.91	3,448.91	
Preparation of material for textbooks.....	10,000.00	2,344.70	7,655.30
Work through newspapers and periodicals.....	11,750.00	11,750.00	
Contingencies.....	17,250.00	6,907.23	10,342.77
Work through international polity clubs.....	9,000.00	9,000.00	
Japan Society of New York.....	4,000.00	4,000.00	
Publication of La Bibliothèque Américaine.....	2,000.00	2,000.00	
Work in summer schools.....	20,500.00	20,500.00	
	<b>\$228,910.07</b>	<b>\$179,895.42</b>	<b>\$49,014.65</b>

## Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1918—Continued

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1917			
Expenses of the Division in New York.....	\$13,000.00	\$9,537.13	\$3,462.87
Honoraria of the Committee of Research.....	17,000.00	17,000.00	
Research work.....	30,000.00	17,903.74	12,096.26
Printing the works of the Committee of Research..	10,000.00	3,579.73	6,420.27
Translations of works of the Committee of Research	10,000.00	4,454.41	5,545.59
Material for an economic study of the European War.....	10,000.00	5,668.79	4,331.21
Economic inquiry in California, Japan and China..	2,500.00		2,500.00
	\$92,500.00	\$58,143.80	\$34,356.20
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1917			
Clerical assistance.....	\$10,180.00	\$10,180.00	
Office expenses.....	1,500.00	1,500.00	
Publication and distribution of pamphlets of the Division.....	2,000.00	1,956.33	\$43.67
Collection and publication of international arbitra- tions.....	6,000.00	6,000.00	
Aid to international law journals:			
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law.....	8,500.00	8,500.00	
Revue Générale de Droit International Public.	1,500.00	1,278.96	221.04
Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée.....	1,000.00		1,000.00
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale.....	320.00	320.00	
Japanese Review of International Law.....	1,300.00	1,300.00	
Jahrbuch des Völkerrechts.....	1,000.00		1,000.00
Journal du Droit International.....	2,000.00	1,718.21	281.79
Revue de Droit International Privé et de Droit Pénal International.....	1,000.00		1,000.00
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée.....	1,500.00	1,278.93	221.07
American Society for Judicial Settlement of Inter- national Disputes.....	5,000.00	2,373.22	2,626.78
English summary of the Japanese Review of Inter- national Law.....	2,500.00	700.00	1,800.00
Printing and distribution of publications of the Division.....	10,000.00	10,000.00	
Publications of the American Institute of Inter- national Law.....	5,000.00	4,500.22	499.78
Meeting of the American Institute of International Law, 1917.....	15,000.00	14,405.05	594.95
Fellowships of international law.....	8,750.00	6,562.50	2,187.50
French editions of works of the Division.....	16,500.00	1,748.99	14,751.01
Classics of International Law, distribution of ....	3,265.01	3,265.01	
Classics of International Law, honoraria.....	6,350.00	1,335.00	5,015.00

## Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1918—Continued

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
Purchase and distribution of Peace Through Justice	\$350.00	\$334.92	\$15.08
Exchange of international law professors.....	1,041.66	1,041.66	
Committee on the study and teaching of international law.....	2,000.00		2,000.00
Documents regarding the international relations of China.....	10,000.00	215.86	9,784.14
Classic projects for international organization....	600.00	600.00	
Proceedings of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.....	1,000.00	1,000.00	
Classics of International Law, editorial assistance.	1,000.00	500.00	500.00
	<b>\$126,156.67</b>	<b>\$82,614.86</b>	<b>\$43,541.81</b>
EMERGENCIES, 1917			
Entertainment of distinguished visitors.....	\$1,000.00	\$403.02	\$596.98
Classics of International Law, transfer of.....	1,152.13	1,152.13	
Work through newspapers and periodicals.....	30,000.00	25,440.99	4,559.01
Conference of representatives of the press.....	25,000.00	13,959.32	11,040.68
Distribution of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relating to neutral rights and commerce.....	7,020.00	7,020.00	
Fiore's Il Diritto Internazionale Codificato.....	2,750.00		2,750.00
Classics of International Law, publication of....	7,500.00	7,277.96	222.04
Emergency increase in salaries of employes.....	6,800.00	4,844.13	1,955.87
Purchase of published addresses of Mr. Root....	660.00	470.46	189.54
Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1917.....	700.00	453.96	246.04
Remodeling of No. 4 Jackson Place.....	2,000.00		2,000.00
Maintenance of headquarters.....	2,200.00		2,200.00
Allotments of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1918	<b>\$86,782.13</b>	<b>\$61,021.97</b>	<b>\$25,760.16</b>
SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1918			
Salaries—officials.....	\$19,000.00	\$14,250.00	\$4,750.00
Salaries—clerks.....	14,080.00	9,767.34	4,312.66
Stationery and office expenses.....	5,500.00	3,944.55	1,555.45
Maintenance of headquarters.....	4,530.00	4,312.74	217.26
Traveling expenses.....	3,000.00		3,000.00
Entertainment of distinguished visitors.....	1,000.00		1,000.00
Contingencies.....	500.00	345.00	155.00
	<b>\$47,610.00</b>	<b>\$32,619.63</b>	<b>\$14,990.37</b>
MAINTENANCE OF THE LIBRARY AND FOR THE YEAR BOOK, 1918			
Salaries of the librarian and assistant.....	\$2,440.00	\$1,834.88	\$605.12
Purchases for the library.....	3,000.00	1,649.31	1,350.69
Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1918.....	7,000.00		7,000.00
	<b>\$12,440.00</b>	<b>\$3,484.19</b>	<b>\$8,955.81</b>

## Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1918—Continued

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1918			
Expenses of the Division in New York.....	\$12,660.00	\$7,843.26	\$4,816.74
Maintenance of the European Bureau.....	10,000.00	9,197.58	802.42
American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.....	500.00	81.51	418.49
Honoraria of the Special Correspondents.....	4,600.00	2,950.00	1,650.00
International Arbitration League.....	1,000.00	953.00	47.00
American Association for International Concilia- tion.....	39,450.00	29,587.50	9,862.50
France-America Committee of New York.....	2,500.00	1,875.00	625.00
Latin American exchange.....	40,000.00	13,672.11	26,327.89
Courses in universities on international relations ..	10,000.00	2,500.00	7,500.00
International visits of representative men.....	20,000.00		20,000.00
Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors...	5,000.00	1,590.00	3,410.00
Work through newspapers and periodicals.....	20,000.00		20,000.00
Work through international polity clubs.....	15,000.00		15,000.00
Contingencies.....	41,990.00		41,990.00
	<u>\$222,700.00</u>	<u>\$70,249.96</u>	<u>\$152,450.04</u>
DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1918			
Expenses of the Division in New York.....	\$13,000.00	\$5,843.51	\$7,156.49
Honoraria of the Committee of Research.....	15,000.00	7,875.00	7,125.00
	<u>\$28,000.00</u>	<u>\$13,718.51</u>	<u>\$14,281.49</u>
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1918			
Clerical assistance.....	\$10,100.00	\$6,757.36	\$3,342.64
Office expenses.....	2,000.00	1,337.19	662.81
Pamphlet series.....	2,000.00		2,000.00
Collection and publication of international arbi- trations.....	6,000.00	4,210.68	1,789.32
Aid to international law journals:			
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law.....	8,500.00	2,148.03	6,351.97
Revue Générale de Droit International Public	1,500.00	1,305.52	194.48
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale.....	320.00	320.00	
Japanese Review of International Law.....	1,300.00	1,300.00	
Journal du Droit International.....	2,000.00	1,743.68	256.32
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée.....	1,500.00	1,305.52	194.48
American Society for Judicial Settlement of Inter- national Disputes.....	5,000.00		5,000.00
Lecture tour of Mr. Alejandro Alvarez.....	5,000.00	3,837.10	1,162.90
Aid to Barclay's New Methods of Adjusting Inter- national Disputes.....	600.00		600.00
Collection of treaties since the Peace of Westphalia	1,250.00		1,250.00
Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens...	3,000.00	5.32	2,994.68

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1918—*Continued*

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
Official correspondence of the United States regarding the emancipation of Latin American countries	\$5,000.00	\$1,750.00	\$3,250.00
Publications of the Division	10,000.00	1,747.55	8,252.45
Madison's Notes of Debates in the Constitutional Convention	1,300.00	140.00	1,160.00
Monograph on Plebiscites	250.00		250.00
Distribution of Vreeland's Hugo Grotius	687.50	687.50	
Classics of International Law, honoraria	2,300.00	1,300.00	1,000.00
Aid to Lawrence's Society of Nations	1,000.00		1,000.00
Aid to La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre	1,100.00	300.00	800.00
Aid to the Grotius Society of London	1,250.00	1,250.00	
Spanish edition of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relating to neutral rights and commerce	2,629.08	2,629.08	
Aid to Minor's A Republic of Nations	850.00		850.00
Purchase of A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany	250.00		250.00
Collection of Latin American arbitration treaties	1,500.00		1,500.00
Aid to Piggott's series upon belligerent and neutral rights at sea	3,700.00		3,700.00
Assistance for government work	10,000.00	116.66	9,883.34
	<b>\$91,886.58</b>	<b>\$34,191.19</b>	<b>\$57,695.39</b>
<b>Résumé for the Fiscal Year 1917</b>			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	\$44,250.00	\$43,685.73	\$564.27
Maintenance of the Library and for the Year Book	12,320.00	12,320.00	
Division of Intercourse and Education	228,910.07	179,895.42	49,014.65
Division of Economics and History	92,500.00	58,143.80	34,356.20
Division of International Law	126,156.67	82,614.86	43,541.81
Emergencies	86,782.13	61,021.97	25,760.16
	<b>\$590,918.87</b>	<b>\$437,681.78</b>	<b>\$153,237.09</b>
<b>Résumé for the Fiscal Year 1918</b>			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	\$47,610.00	\$32,619.63	\$14,990.37
Maintenance of the Library and for the Year Book	12,440.00	3,484.19	8,955.81
Division of Intercourse and Education	222,700.00	70,249.96	152,450.04
Division of Economics and History	28,000.00	13,718.51	14,281.49
Division of International Law	91,886.58	34,191.19	57,695.39
	<b>\$402,636.58</b>	<b>\$154,263.48</b>	<b>\$248,373.10</b>
Total for 1917	<b>\$590,918.87</b>	<b>\$437,681.78</b>	<b>\$153,237.09</b>
Total for 1918	<b>402,636.58</b>	<b>154,263.48</b>	<b>248,373.10</b>
	<b>\$993,555.45</b>	<b>\$591,945.26</b>	<b>\$401,610.19</b>



## Statement of Revenue and Appropriations, March 31, 1918

<b>Revenue Collected</b>		
Interest on the Endowment to March 31, 1918 .....		\$3,565,906.25
Interest on bank deposits to December 31, 1917 .....		67,806.05
Interest on income invested .....		2,073.70
Sales of publications .....		964.35
Royalties on publications .....		592.60
Proceeds from the sale of syndicated matter .....		6,623.90
Miscellaneous receipts .....		434.38
Total amount collected .....		\$3,644,401.23
<b>Income Receivable</b>		
Interest on the Endowment to June 30, 1918 .....	\$125,000.00	
Interest on income invested to June 30, 1918 .....	1,968.75	
Interest on bank deposits to June 30, 1918 (estimated) .....	5,000.00	
		131,968.75
Total revenue, collected and estimated .....		\$3,776,369.98
<b>Appropriations</b>		
Amounts appropriated less revertments:		
For 1911 .....	\$128,202.32	
For 1912 .....	230,672.76	
For 1913 .....	406,119.34	
For 1914 .....	586,239.99	
For 1915 .....	529,553.53	
For 1916 .....	580,741.04	
For 1917 .....	639,370.00	
For 1918* .....	1,109,995.00	
Excess of appropriations over revenue, collected and uncollected .....		434,524.00
	\$4,210,893.98	\$4,210,893.98

\* On March 2, 1918, the Executive Committee established a reserve fund for the amortization of \$500,000.00 appropriated for reconstruction of devastated homes in Europe, and included therein the amount invested in United States Government Liberty Bonds, together with the interest thereon:

United States Government Liberty Bonds .....	\$112,500.00
Interest collected to December 15, 1917 .....	1,591.20
	\$114,091.20

## Recapitulation

Appropriations		Allotments	Balance Unallotted	Disbursed of Allotments	Balance of Allotments
For 1917.....	\$639,370.00	\$590,918.87	\$48,451.13	\$437,681.78	\$153,237.09
For 1918.....	1,109,995.00	402,636.58	707,358.42	154,263.48	248,373.10
	<u>\$1,749,365.00</u>	<u>\$993,555.45</u>	<u>\$755,809.55</u>	<u>\$591,945.26</u>	<u>\$401,610.19</u>

I hereby certify that the above statement  
is true and in accordance with the books of the  
Endowment on March 31, 1918.

CLARENCE A. PHILLIPS,  
*Auditor.*

Respectfully submitted,  
CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,  
*Treasurer.*

## REPORT OF THE AUDITOR



## REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

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*April 15, 1918.*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN:

We have audited the accounts and records of the CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE for the year ended December 31, 1917.

We checked the appropriations and allotments with certified copies of the minutes of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee respectively.

The cash in banks at December 31, 1917, as called for by the records, was verified by statements from the depositaries.

The bonds representing the Endowment Fund were produced to us and the income therefrom was duly accounted for. We also inspected the United States Liberty Bonds which were purchased as a temporary investment from the appropriation made for the reconstruction of homes in France, Belgium, Serbia or Russia.

All expenditures were authorized and are supported by proper vouchers and cancelled checks returned from the banks.

We certify that the statement of assets and liabilities; the statement of receipts and disbursements; and the statements showing the condition of the appropriations and allotments, as printed in the Treasurer's report of December 31, 1917, are in accordance with the records.

We found the books and records in good condition.

Respectfully submitted,

THE AMERICAN AUDIT COMPANY,

By C. R. CRANMER, *Resident Manager.*

[SEAL]

Approved:

F. W. LAFRENTZ, *President.*

Attest:

C. W. GOETEHIND,  
*Asst. Secretary.*



## REQUIREMENTS FOR APPROPRIATION





STATEMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR APPROPRIATION FOR THE FISCAL  
YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1919

Showing Amounts Appropriated for Requirements for Fiscal Year Ending  
June 30, 1918

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919
<b>Administration</b>		
Salaries.....	\$33,080	\$32,380
Office expenses.....	5,500	5,900
Maintenance of headquarters.....	4,530	7,190
Emergency increase of 10% in salaries.....	.....	2,442
Traveling expenses.....	3,000	3,000
Entertainment of distinguished visitors.....	1,000	1,000
Contingent fund.....	500	..... <sup>1</sup>
Totals.....	\$47,610	\$51,912
<b>Sundry Purposes</b>		
Library and Information Bureau.....	\$5,440	5,640
Year Book.....	7,000	8,000
Manual of Carnegie Benefactions.....	.....	5,000
Translating Bureau.....	.....	5,340
Extra assistance required on account of services to the Government performed by the Endowment or by mem- bers of its staff.....	.....	6,840
Emergency increase of 10% in salaries.....	.....	1,482
Totals.....	\$12,440	\$32,302
<b>Division of Intercourse and Education</b>		
New York Office.....	\$12,660	\$13,880
Emergency increase of 10% in salaries.....	.....	708
European Bureau, Paris.....	16,000	10,000
Special Correspondents.....	4,400	3,650
American Association for International Conciliation (in- cluding payments abroad).....	39,950	36,550
Other subventions in the United States.....	3,000	3,000
International visits:		
Relations with other American Republics.....	40,000	40,000
Entertainment of distinguished foreigners.....	5,000	5,000
International visits of representative men.....	20,000	5,000

<sup>1</sup> Transferred to Emergency appropriation.

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919
General work to include provision for items omitted because of war conditions:		
Japan Society of New York.....	\$5,000	\$5,000
General educational work, including distribution of books, pamphlets and leaflets.....	20,000	20,000
Preparation of material for textbooks.....	5,000	.....
International polity clubs and other work in colleges and summer schools.....	15,000	25,000
Aid to periodicals.....	6,000	.....
International Arbitration League, London.....	1,000	1,000
Contingencies.....	41,990	..... <sup>1</sup>
Totals.....	\$235,000	\$168,788
<b>Division of Economics and History</b>		
New York Office.....		
Emergency increase of 10% in salaries.....	\$15,000	\$13,000
Honoraria for Committee of Research.....	.....	750
Research work and collecting materials for economic history of the war.....	17,000	6,500
Translating and printing.....	54,000	10,000
Contingent Fund.....	25,000	10,000
	10,000	..... <sup>1</sup>
Totals.....	\$121,000	\$40,250
<b>Division of International Law</b>		
Salaries.....		
Emergency increase of 10% in salaries.....	\$10,100	\$9,740
Office expenses.....	.....	974
Pamphlet series.....	2,000	1,000
Collection of international arbitrations.....	2,000	2,000
English summaries of Japanese Review of International Law.....	6,000	6,000
Subventions to journals of international law.....	2,500	.....
Subventions to societies.....	13,620	13,620
Exchange professor of international law.....	6,500	2,750
Collection of American correspondence concerning the emancipation of Latin American countries.....	5,000	.....
Printing of publications authorized by Executive Committee.....	5,000	.....
American Institute of International Law.....	20,000	20,000
Piggott's series upon belligerent and neutral rights at sea... ..	25,000	.....
Aid to the study and teaching of international law (fellowships).....	.....	8,600
Classics of International Law.....	25,000	13,750

<sup>1</sup> Transferred to Emergency appropriation.

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919
Aid to Barclay's New Methods of Adjusting International Disputes.....	50,000	.....
Aid to Das Werk vom Haag.....		
Collection of treaties since the Peace of Westphalia.....	600	.....
Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens.....	1,375	.....
Collection of authoritative statements regarding the Mon- roe Doctrine.....	1,250	.....
	3,000	.....
Reappropriation of reverted allotments:		
French editions of works of Division.....		5,000
Documents regarding the international relations of China.....		15,000
Publication of Fiore's Il Diritto Internazionale Codificato.....		10,000
Contingent Fund.....		2,750
		..... <sup>1</sup>
Totals.....	15,000	
	\$193,945	\$111,184
<b>Miscellaneous</b>		
Emergencies.....		\$97,870
Reconstruction of homes in Belgium, France, Serbia or Russia.....	\$500,000	.....
	\$500,000	\$97,870
<b>Recapitulation</b>		
Administration.....	\$47,610	\$51,912
Sundry Purposes.....	12,440	32,302
Division of Intercourse and Education.....	235,000	168,788
Division of Economics and History.....	121,000	40,250
Division of International Law.....	193,945	111,184
Emergency Appropriation.....		97,870
Reconstruction of homes in Belgium, France, Serbia or Russia.....	500,000	.....
Totals.....	\$1,109,995	\$502,306

<sup>1</sup> Transferred to Emergency appropriation.



ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES, 1918

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED  
AND APPROPRIATIONS VOTED



## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES, 1918

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The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was held in Washington in the Board Room of the Endowment at No. 2 Jackson Place on Friday, April 19, 1918, at 10 o'clock a. m. The following Trustees were present:

Mr. Elihu Root	Mr. J. G. Schmidlapp
Mr. Robert S. Brookings	Mr. James Brown Scott
Mr. Thomas Burke	Mr. James L. Slayden
Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler	Mr. Oscar S. Straus
Mr. Robert A. Franks	Mr. Charles L. Taylor
Mr. George Gray	Mr. Charlemagne Tower
Mr. Henry S. Pritchett	Mr. John Sharp Williams
Mr. Robert S. Woodward	

Mr. Root, the President, presided.

The minutes of the meetings of the Board of April 19 and 20, 1917, were approved.

Printed reports from the Secretary and the Directors of the Divisions of Intercourse and Education, Economics and History and International Law were laid before the Board. Their reading was dispensed with in view of the fact that these reports had previously been sent to the members of the Board, but each of these officers made an oral statement calling attention to parts of the reports to which they asked special attention. The reports were received and ordered to be filed.

The Treasurer submitted a report upon the finances of the Endowment as required by the By-Laws, which was received, approved and ordered to be filed.

The Executive Committee submitted its annual report, and it was received and ordered to be filed.

Mr. Franks, in the absence of the Chairman of the Finance Committee, read the report of that Committee, which was received and ordered to be filed. He also read the report of the Auditors upon their audit of the accounts of the association for the year ended December 31, 1917, which was approved and ordered to be filed.

The deaths of Mr. Joseph H. Choate, Vice President of the Endowment, and Mr. John W. Foster, a member of the Board, were reported, and memorials were presented by the Secretary on behalf of the Executive Committee. The memorials were adopted by the Trustees and ordered published in the Endowment's Year Book. (See pages 241, 257.)

The Secretary laid before the Trustees the resignation of Mr. Luke E. Wright, a member of the Board, which was accepted.

The Board then proceeded to the election of Trustees to fill the three vacancies in the Board. Several ballots were taken, and the following candidates were duly elected:

Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, of Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. David Jayne Hill, of Washington, D. C.

Mr. C. A. Severance, of St. Paul, Minnesota.

The election of the President and Vice President being next in order, Mr. Elihu Root was unanimously reelected President, and Mr. George Gray was elected Vice President to succeed the late Mr. Joseph H. Choate. The Board likewise unanimously reelected Mr. Charlemagne Tower to fill the vacancy in the Executive Committee caused by the expiration of his term of office, and Messrs. George W. Perkins, Robert A. Franks and Samuel Mather were unanimously reelected members of the Finance Committee.

The estimates of requirements for appropriation recommended by the Executive Committee for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, which had been printed and mailed to the Trustees thirty days prior to the annual meeting, were then taken up and considered. After consideration of the various items included in the estimates of the Secretary's Office and the three Divisions, the Board made the following appropriations:

*Resolved*, That the sum of fifty-one thousand, nine hundred and twelve dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the purposes of administration, and charged to the current income for that year.

*Resolved*, That the sum of thirty-two thousand, three hundred and two dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for sundry purposes, and charged to the current income for that year.

*Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of Intercourse and Education, and charged to the current income for that year.

*Resolved*, That the sum of forty thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of Economics and History, and charged to the current income for that year.

*Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred and eleven thousand, one hundred and eighty-four dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for the Division of International Law, and charged to the current income for that year.



*Resolved*, That to meet unforeseen emergencies as they arise during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of ninety-seven thousand, eight hundred and seventy dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated, as a separate fund from the unappropriated balance of the income of the Endowment, to be specially allotted by the Executive Committee in its discretion.

Upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee the Board likewise made the following appropriation:

*Resolved*, That the sum of two thousand dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended by the Executive Committee for the purchase of a facsimile of the portrait of the late Mr. Choate, Vice President of the Endowment, painted in 1906 by Mrs. Ellen Emmet Rand, the said portrait, when finished, to be hung in the Board Room of the Endowment.

In connection with the consideration of the appropriations the Board adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the several committees having charge of the funds of the Endowment be requested to invest all moneys available in the Third Liberty Loan now offered by the United States Government, and so far as practicable to reinvest income, and especially interest derived from United States bonds, in securities offered during the war by the government.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Attitude of the Endowment on the War and Its Services to the Government**

The President then made the following statement regarding the attitude of the Endowment on the war and its services to the government:

There is one subject I want to bring before the Board and ask their specific approval of the action of the Executive Committee, and as the basis for that I dictated a memorandum which is designed to state specifically and clearly the position of the Endowment upon the one great and only question. If you will permit me, I will present it at this time.

The entrance of the United States into the war and the progress of events since that action have made it evident that a large part of the activities of the Endowment must be ineffective at least until after the restoration of peace.

The hope of the world for international peace is concentrated first upon the prevention of German domination. As to this it has become evident practically to the point of demonstration that German domination can be prevented only by force of arms. The Endowment can play but little part in producing a result to be accomplished in this way. It has, however, endeavored to contribute what it could by taking and making public a clear and definite position in favor of the active and relentless prosecution of the war to final victory.

For the greater convenience of the Trustees, the resolutions of the Board and of the Executive Committee upon this subject are here reproduced:

<sup>1</sup> Pursuant to the above resolution, the Treasurer, on May 2, 1918, subscribed for \$137,500 worth of United States Government Bonds of the Third Liberty Loan, bringing the Endowment's total subscription in Liberty Bonds up to \$250,000.

*Resolution of the Board of Trustees Adopted April 19, 1917*

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

*Resolution of the Executive Committee Adopted November 1, 1917*

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20 last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

In view of recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which, the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim.

It has become increasingly evident that not only was ordinary peace propaganda futile and out of place during the prosecution of the war, but that it would be positively harmful, as tending to distract the attention of the American people from concentration of effort and feeling upon the prosecution of the war.

The second point upon which the hope of international peace in the future depends is the disposition to be made after the close of the war by the representatives of the several nations which will at that time address themselves to the restoration of peace. Officers of the Endowment have considered that the best service the Division of International Law can render to the cause of international peace is by contributing so far as possible to adequate preparation for meeting that great emergency which will arise upon the close of the war. They consider that it will not be sufficient for representatives of the various Powers to meet and deal with the questions which will arise as matters of first impression and without adequate preparation. The Endowment has accordingly sought to bring about due and adequate preparation in two ways. In the first place, it has published or contributed to the publication of a series of works which furnish the same kind of foundation for effective consideration of the questions which will arise in a Peace Conference that Madison's Notes and Elliot's Debates, and the earlier history of the development of Constitutional Law in the United States furnish for the consideration of interstate questions in America.

Among these publications have been the following: The Classics of International Law; the famous dissertation by Grotius entitled *The Freedom of the Seas*, now translated for the first time into English; *Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports*; a proposal for *An International Court of Justice*, and a volume setting forth the status of the Court, with an appendix of addresses and official documents; Ladd's Essay of 1840 on *A Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms*; *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, in English as well as in the original French; *The Hague Court Reports*, a volume containing reports of decided cases, like the reports of our municipal courts of decided cases, and comprising the awards, accompanied by syllabi, the agreements for arbitration, and other documents in each case submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration and to commissions of inquiry under the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Another volume of greatest importance is the *Resolutions of the Institute of International Law Dealing with the Law of Nations*, with an historical introduction and explanatory notes. These documents were not readily accessible before, but had to be found in the minutes and pamphlets of the Institute. They are now published in one volume, together with an historical introduction and explanatory notes.

Another volume of greatest importance contains *The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907*, with the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft conventions and declarations submitted to the Conference by the several commissions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the Final Acts, Conventions and Declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegates of the various Powers as well as of other documents laid before the commissions. This is a volume which does for the Hague Conferences, as a basis for future action, what Elliot's Debates and Madison's Notes have done for the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787.

And attention also may be called to other publications, such as a volume upon *The Armed Neutrality of 1780 and 1800*, being a collection of official documents preceded by the view of representative publicists; a work in two volumes bringing together and reproducing the *Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War*; a handy and serviceable volume composed of *The Declaration of Independence*, *The Articles of Confederation*, and *The Constitution of the United States*; Schücking's *International Union of the Hague Conferences*, and Wehberg's *Problem of an International Court of Justice*, both of which have just been translated from the German, and made available to the English speaking peoples.

An examination of these works will show that they bring to the aid of the minds which will be addressed to the serious and difficult questions of the coming Peace Conference, the benefit of consideration upon the same subject of some of the greatest men who have made contributions to the science of government. The matter which they contain is for the most part quite unknown in Europe, and to an amazing degree unknown in America among men of practical affairs. The motive inspiring the officers of the Endowment in this work is well expressed in the following letter by Benjamin Franklin to Mr. Grand, written at the close of the American Constitutional Convention of 1787:

PHILADA. Oct. 22, 87.

I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engag'd 4 Months of the last Summer in the Convention that form'd it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their Confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the Project of good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republick of all its different States & Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile.

The other method of contributing to this preparation has been through active cooperation with the officers of the government whose official positions will throw upon them responsibility for the representation of the United States in the Peace Conference. At the meeting of April 19, 1917, the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offers to the government the services of its Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war.

That offer was accepted. And for the further information of the Trustees it should be stated that we have turned over one of our three buildings in Washington to the government for the use of the Committee on Public Information.

The property of the Endowment is therefore being used by the government, and the activities of this institution here are now practically serving the government in making real, thorough, and scientific preparation for exercising the influence of the United States after the close of the war, and that activity is taking the place of agitation for peace, which we abjure until the war is won.

At the conclusion of the President's statement, the Board unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Board hereby approves and adopts the declaration adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1, 1917, reaffirming the attitude of the Endowment toward the war.

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be requested to give the widest possible publicity to the statement made by the President of the Endowment to the Board regarding the attitude and activities of the Endowment since the entry of the United States into the war.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ENDOWMENT



## DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ENDOWMENT

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Libraries marked (\*) receive the publications of the Division of International Law only.  
See page 52 of this Year Book for information regarding the depository libraries of the Endowment.

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#### ALABAMA

Public Library, Birmingham.  
Association Public Library, Mobile.  
Department of Archives and History, State Capitol, Montgomery.  
Carnegie Library of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee.

#### ARIZONA

Arizona State Library, Phoenix.  
University of Arizona Library, Tucson.

#### ARKANSAS

University of Arkansas Library, Fayetteville.

#### CALIFORNIA

University of California Library, Berkeley.  
Pomona College Library, Claremont.  
Public Library, Los Angeles.  
University of Southern California, Los Angeles.  
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City Library, Sacramento.  
California State Library, Sacramento.  
Free Public Library, San Diego.  
Free Public Library, San Francisco.  
Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University.

#### COLORADO

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Colorado College Library, Colorado Springs.  
University of Denver Library, Denver.  
Public Library of the City and County of Denver, Denver.  
State Library, Denver.

#### CONNECTICUT

Public Library, Hartford.  
Trinity College Library, Hartford.  
Connecticut State Library, Hartford.  
Wesleyan University Library, Middletown.  
Free Public Library, New Haven.  
Yale University Library, New Haven.  
\*Yale Law School Library, New Haven.

Connecticut Agricultural College Library, Storrs.

#### DELAWARE

Delaware College Library, Newark.  
Wilmington Institute Free Library, Wilmington.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

American Peace Society, Washington.  
Catholic University of America Library, Washington.  
Georgetown University Library, Washington.  
George Washington University Library, Washington.  
Library of Congress, Washington.  
Public Library, Washington.  
Smithsonian Institution Library, Washington.  
Army War College Library, Washington.  
Department of State Library, Washington.  
Department of Justice Library, Washington.  
United States Senate Library, Washington.  
Pan American Union Library, Washington.  
Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Washington.

#### FLORIDA

John B. Stetson University Library, De Land.  
University of Florida Library, Gainesville.  
Free Public Library, Jacksonville.  
Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

#### GEORGIA

University of Georgia Library, Athens.  
Carnegie Library, Atlanta.  
Georgia State Library, Atlanta.  
Emory College Library, Oxford.  
Public Library, Savannah.

#### HAWAII

College of Hawaii Library, Honolulu.

#### IDAHO

Carnegie Public Library, Boise.  
Carnegie Library, Lewiston.  
University of Idaho Library, Moscow.  
Idaho Technical Institute, Pocatello.

## ILLINOIS

Illinois Wesleyan University Library, Bloomington.  
 Public Library, Cairo.  
 Southern Illinois State Normal University Library, Carbondale.  
 Chicago Public Library, Chicago.  
 John Crerar Library, Chicago.  
 \*Chicago Law Institute, Chicago.  
 University of Chicago Library, Chicago.  
 Newberry Library, Chicago.  
 St. Ignatius College Library, 12th Street, Chicago.  
 Northwestern University Library, Evanston.  
 Illinois State Normal University Library, Normal.  
 Public Library, Peoria.  
 Public Library, Rockford.  
 Illinois State Library, Springfield.  
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## INDIANA

Indiana University Library, Bloomington.  
 Willard Library, Evansville.  
 Wabash College Library, Crawfordsville.  
 De Pauw University Library, Greencastle.  
 Hanover College Library, Hanover.  
 Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.  
 Indianapolis Public Library, Indianapolis.  
 Purdue University Library, Lafayette.  
 Public Library, Muncie.  
 University of Notre Dame Library, Notre Dame.  
 Indiana State Normal School Library, Terre Haute.  
 Valparaiso University Library, Valparaiso.

## Iowa

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 Free Public Library, Burlington.  
 Drake University Library, Des Moines.  
 Iowa State Library, Des Moines.  
 Public Library of Des Moines, Des Moines.  
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 Upper Iowa University Library, Fayette.  
 Grinnell College Library, Grinnell.  
 Iowa State University Library, Iowa City.  
 Iowa Wesleyan University Library, Mount Pleasant.  
 Cornell College Library, Mount Vernon.  
 Public Library, Sioux City.

## KANSAS

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 Kansas State Normal Library, Emporia.  
 University of Kansas Library, Lawrence.  
 Free Public Library, Leavenworth.  
 Kansas State Agricultural College Library, Manhattan.  
 Public Library, Pittsburg.  
 Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.

Kansas State Library, Topeka.  
 Fairmount College Library, Wichita.  
 City Library, Wichita.

## KENTUCKY

Centre College, Danville.  
 Kentucky State Library, Frankfort.  
 University of Kentucky Library, Lexington.  
 Free Public Library, Louisville.  
 Kentucky Wesleyan College Library, Winchester.

## LOUISIANA

Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.  
 State Normal School Library, Natchitoches.  
 Tulane University Library, New Orleans.  
 Public Library, New Orleans.

## MAINE

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 Public Library, Bangor.  
 Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick.  
 Bates College Library, Lewiston.  
 University of Maine Library, Orono.  
 Public Library, Portland.  
 Colby University Library, Waterville.

## MARYLAND

U. S. Naval Academy Library, Annapolis.  
 Maryland State Library, Annapolis.  
 Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore.  
 Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.  
 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.  
 Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown.  
 Western Maryland College Library, Westminster.  
 Woodstock College Library, Woodstock.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Amherst College Library, Amherst.  
 Massachusetts Agricultural College Library, Amherst.  
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library, Boston.  
 Public Library, Boston.  
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 Boston Athenæum Library, Boston.  
 Boston University: Library of the College of Liberal Arts, Boston.  
 \*Social Law Library, Boston.  
 Harvard University Library, Cambridge.  
 \*Law School of Harvard University Library, Cambridge.  
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 Public Library, Lynn.  
 Public Library, Malden.  
 Free Public Library, New Bedford.  
 Forbes Library, Northampton.  
 Smith College Library, Northampton.  
 Mount Holyoke College Library, South Hadley.  
 City Library Association, Springfield.



Tufts College Library, Tufts College.  
 Wellesley College Library, Wellesley.  
 Williams College Library, Williamstown.  
 Clark University Library, Worcester.  
 Free Public Library, Worcester.  
 Worcester County Law Library, Worcester.

## MICHIGAN

University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.  
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 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon.  
 East Side Public Library, Saginaw.

## MINNESOTA

Public Library, Duluth.  
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 Public Library, Minneapolis.  
 Carleton College Library, Northfield.  
 State Normal School Library, St. Cloud.  
 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.  
 Minnesota State Library, St. Paul.  
 Public Library, St. Paul.  
 Free Public Library, Winona.  
 State Normal School Library, Winona.

## MISSISSIPPI

University of Mississippi Library, University.

## MISSOURI

University of Missouri Library, Columbia.  
 Westminster College Library, Fulton.  
 Public Library, Kansas City.  
 William Jewell College Library, Liberty.  
 Public Library, St. Joseph.  
 Washington University Library, St. Louis.  
 St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis.  
 St. Louis University Library, St. Louis.  
 St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, St. Louis.  
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## MONTANA

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 State Historical and Miscellaneous Library, Helena.  
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## NEBRASKA

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## NEVADA

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 New Jersey State Library, Trenton.  
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 \*Appellate Division Law Library, Rochester.  
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 \*Utica Law Library Association, Utica.  
 U. S. Military Academy Library, West Point.

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 University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.  
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## OHIO

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 Western Reserve University Library, Cleveland.  
 State Library, Columbus.  
 Ohio State University Library, Columbus.  
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 Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware.  
 Kenyon College Library, Gambier.  
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 Public Library, Toledo.  
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## OKLAHOMA

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 University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.  
 Oklahoma State Library, Lawrence Building, Oklahoma City.

## OREGON

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 Library Association, Portland.  
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## PENNSYLVANIA

Mechanics Library and Reading Room Association, Altoona.  
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 Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.  
 \*Law Association of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.  
 American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.  
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Historical Society of Pa. Library, Philadelphia.  
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 Public Library, Reading.  
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 Hampden-Sidney College Library, Hampden-Sidney.  
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## WISCONSIN

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University of Wyoming Library, Laramie.

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 Colegio Nacional, Tucumán.  
 Colegio Nacional, Santiago del Estero.  
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 Universidad Católica de Santiago, Santiago.  
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Escuela de Jurisprudencia, Guadalajara, Jalisco.

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Colegio de Morelia, Morelia, Michoacán.

## OTHER COUNTRIES

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K. K. Franzens-Universität, Lemberg.  
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Universitäts-Bibliothek, Innsbruck.  
Unversytet Jagiellouski, Cracow.  
K. K. Universitäts-Bibliothek, Prague, Bohemia.  
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Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

## BELGIUM

Institut Solvay, Brussels.  
Stadsbibliothek, Antwerp.  
Bibliothèque de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels.  
Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'Etat, Ghent.  
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, Liège.  
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Squire Law Library, Cambridge.  
University of Cambridge Library, Cambridge.  
The University Library, Leeds.  
The British Museum, London.  
The Library of the National Liberal Club, Whitehall, London.  
The Library of the Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, London.  
\*British Library of Political Science, Clare Market, London, W. C.

Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W.  
\*Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, London.  
University College Library, London.  
University of London Library, South Kensington, London.  
Library of the Royal Statistical Society, 9 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London.  
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 University Library, St. Andrews.

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Library of Parliament, Cape Town.  
 South African College Library, Cape Town.  
 University of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town.  
 Transvaal University College, Transvaal.

*Tasmania*

University of Tasmania, Hobart.

*Wales*

University College of Wales, Aberystwith.  
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### Publications of the Secretary's Office

Year Book for 1911. xv + 195 pages.

Year Book for 1912. xvi + 165 pages.

Year Book for 1913-1914. xviii + 203 pages.

Year Book for 1915. xvii + 181 pages.

Year Book for 1916. [With portrait of Andrew Carnegie as frontispiece.] xvii + 204 pages.

Year Book for 1917. [With portrait of Andrew Carnegie as frontispiece.] xvii + 213 pages.

Year Book for 1918. [With portraits of Albert K. Smiley, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H.

Choate and John W. Foster.]

Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie [in preparation].

### Publications of the Division of Intercourse and Education

No. 1 SOME ROADS TOWARDS PEACE: A REPORT ON OBSERVATIONS MADE IN CHINA AND JAPAN IN 1912. BY DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT. vi+88 p. 1914.

†No. 2 GERMAN INTERNATIONAL PROGRESS IN 1913. BY PROFESSOR DR. WILHELM PASZKOWSKI. iii+11 p. 1914.

No. 3 EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE WITH JAPAN. BY DR. HAMILTON W. MABIE. 8 p. 1914.

†No. 4 REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CAUSES AND CONDUCT OF THE BALKAN WARS. ix+418 p., illus., maps. 1914.

†No. 5 INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS OF AMERICA. BY DR. HARRY ERWIN BARD. iv+35 p. 1914.

No. 6 GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM IN JAPAN. BY T. MIYAOKA. iii+15 p. 1915.

†No. 7 FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS: A JOURNEY TO SOUTH AMERICA. [English Edition.] BY ROBERT BACON. viii+168 p. 1915.

- No. 8 THE SAME, IN THE ORIGINAL SPANISH, PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH. viii+221 p. 1915. A second edition of Mr. Bacon's Report, containing Nos. 7 and 8 in one volume, has also been published.
- No. 9 FORMER SENATOR BURTON'S TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA. BY OTTO SCHOENRICH. iii+40 p. 1915.
- No. 10 PROBLEMS ABOUT WAR FOR CLASSES IN ARITHMETIC. BY DAVID EUGENE SMITH, PH.D., LL.D. 23 p. 1915.
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- No. 12 RUSSIA, THE REVOLUTION AND THE WAR. AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO PETROGRAD AND HELSINGFORS IN MARCH, 1917. BY DR. CHRISTIAN L. LANGE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION. 26 p. 1917.
- No. 13 GREETINGS TO THE NEW RUSSIA. Addresses at a meeting held at the Hudson Theater, New York, April 23, 1917, under the auspices of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. 14 p. 1917.
- No. 14 SOUTH AMERICAN OPINIONS ON THE WAR: I. CHILE AND THE WAR, BY CARLOS SILVA VILDÓSOLA; II. THE ATTITUDE OF ECUADOR, BY NICOLÁS F. LÓPEZ. Translated from the Spanish by PETER H. GOLDSMITH. 27 p. 1917.
- No. 15 THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE MISSION, 1917. A record of the reception throughout the United States of the Special Mission headed by Viscount Ishii, together with the text of the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917 on the status of Japan and the United States in China, and the text of the Root-Takahira understanding of 1908. Foreword by Elihu Root. 128 p. 1918.

### Publications of the Division of Economics and History

- NATIONALISM AND WAR IN THE NEAR EAST. BY A DIPLOMATIST. Edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xxvi+434 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 12s. 6d.; in U. S., \$4.15.
- THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMMERCIAL POLICIES OF THE THREE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES. BY POVIL DRACHMANN. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. 130 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 4s. 6d.; in U. S., \$1.50.
- LOSSES OF LIFE IN MODERN WARS: AUSTRIA-HUNGARY; FRANCE. BY GASTON BODART, LL.D. —MILITARY SELECTION AND RACE DETERIORATION. BY VERNON LYMAN KELLOGG. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. x+207+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 6s.; in U. S., \$2.00.
- ECONOMIC PROTECTIONISM. BY JOSEF GRUNZEL. Edited by Eugen von Philippovich. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xiii+357+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 8s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.90.
- EPIDEMICS RESULTING FROM WARS. BY DR. FRIEDRICH PRINZING. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xii+340+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 7s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.50.
- THE COLONIAL TARIFF POLICY OF FRANCE. BY DR. ARTHUR GIRAULT. Edited by Charles Gide. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. x+305+6 p. 1916. Price, in Great Britain, 7s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.50.
- THE FIVE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. BY DANA G. MUNRO. Edited by David Kinley. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, N. Y. xvi+332 p. 1918. Price, \$3.50.
- FEDERAL MILITARY PENSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. BY WILLIAM H. GLASSON. Edited by David Kinley. In press; price to be announced.

### PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

(Cloth bound copies of these studies can be purchased from the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 West 32d Street, New York City, for \$1.00 each. Paper bound copies will be sent gratuitously upon application to the Secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

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- INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES AND THEIR OFFICIAL REPORTS. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. v+138 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.

- THE STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, with an appendix of addresses and official documents, by James Brown Scott, Director. v+93 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.
- AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, by James Brown Scott, Director. ix+108 p. 1916. Price, \$1.50.
- RECOMMENDATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OFFICIAL COMMENTARY THEREON OF THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS HELD IN WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27, 1915-JANUARY 8, 1916. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. vii+53 p. 1916. Price, \$1.00.
- AN ESSAY ON A CONGRESS OF NATIONS FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES WITHOUT RESORT TO ARMS, by William Ladd. Reprinted from the original edition of 1840, with an introduction by James Brown Scott, Director. i+162 p. 1916. Price, \$2.00.
- THE HAGUE COURT REPORTS, comprising the awards, accompanied by syllabi, the agreements for arbitration, and other documents in each case submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration and to commissions of inquiry under the provisions of the Conventions of 1899 and 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. cxi+664 p. 1916. Price, \$3.50.
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- DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. 2 vols. lxxxi+1516 p. 1916. Price, \$7.50.
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- THE CONTROVERSY OVER NEUTRAL RIGHTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, 1797-1800. A collection of American State Papers and Judicial Decisions. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. vi+510 p. 1917. Price, \$3.50.
- THE REPORTS TO THE HAGUE CONFERENCES OF 1899 AND 1907. Being the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft conventions and declarations submitted to the Conferences by the several commissions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the Final Acts, Conventions and Declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegations of the various Powers as well as of other documents laid before the commissions. Edited, with an introduction, by James Brown Scott, Director. xxxii+940 p. 1917. Price, \$5.00.
- UNE COUR DE JUSTICE INTERNATIONALE. By James Brown Scott, Director. vi+269 p. (French edition of AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE and THE STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, in combination.) 1918. Price, \$2.50.
- THE ARMED NEUTRALITIES OF 1780 AND 1800. A collection of official documents preceded by the views of representative publicists. Edited by James Brown Scott, Director. xxxi+698 p. 1918. (A combination of Pamphlets Nos. 27 and 28, with revisions and additions.) Price, \$5.00.
- THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE HAGUE CONFERENCES. By Walther Schücking. Translated from the German by Charles G. Fenwick. xiv+341 p. 1918. Price, in Great Britain, 7s. 6d.; in U. S., \$2.50.
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  - No. 24 DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY OVER NEUTRAL RIGHTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, 1797-1800. vii+91 p. 1917.
  - No. 25 OPINIONS OF THE ATTORNEYS GENERAL AND JUDGMENTS OF THE SUPREME COURT AND COURT OF CLAIMS OF THE UNITED STATES RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY OVER NEUTRAL RIGHTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, 1797-1800. v+340 p. 1917.
  - No. 26 OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL, DECISIONS OF FEDERAL COURTS, AND DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE TREATIES OF 1785, 1799 AND 1828, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PRUSSIA. vi+158 p. 1917.
- SUPPLEMENT TO PAMPHLET No. 26.
- No. 27 OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF 1780 AND 1800. x+295 p. 1917.
  - No. 28 EXTRACTS FROM AMERICAN AND FOREIGN WORKS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF 1780 AND 1800. vi+109 p. 1917.
  - No. 29 TWO IDEALS OF GOVERNMENT. v+17 p. 1917.
  - No. 30 THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY ON INTERNATIONAL LAW. Opening address by Elihu Root as President of the American Society of International Law at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Society in Washington, April 26, 1917. ii+10 p. 1917.

## CLASSICS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

This series, which includes the classic works connected with the history and development of international law, was undertaken by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1906, at the suggestion of Mr. James Brown Scott, then Solicitor for the Department of State, under whose supervision as General Editor the series has since been published. On January 1, 1917, the project was transferred to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the publication of the series is being continued by the Endowment's Division of International Law, of which the General Editor of the Classics is the Director. The republication of these classics has been undertaken principally on account of the difficulty of procuring the texts in convenient form for scientific study. The text of each author is reproduced photographically, so as to lay the source before the reader without the mistakes which creep into a newly printed text. An introduction is prefixed to each work, giving the necessary biographical details concerning its author and stating the importance of the text and its place in international law. Tables of errata in the original are added when necessary, and notes to clear up doubts and ambiguities or to correct mistakes in the text are supplied. Each of the Classics is specially edited by an expert in international law and is accompanied by an English version made expressly for the series by a competent translator.

The following works have appeared and are now on sale. The price is indicated for each work.

AYALA, BALTHAZAR: *De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari*. Edited by John Westlake. 2 vols. 1912. Price, \$7.00.

Vol. I. A Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1582, with portrait of Ayala, Introduction by John Westlake, etc. xxvii+226 p.

Vol. II. A Translation of the Text, by John Pawley Bate. xvi+245 p.

LEGNANO, GIOVANNI DA: *De Bello, De Repraesaliis et De Duello*. Edited by Sir Thomas E. Holland. 1 vol. 1917. xxxviii+458 p. Price, 42s. 6d. in Great Britain; \$13.00 in the United States.

I. Collotype of the Bologna Manuscript of 1393, with Extended and Revised Text of Same, Introduction, List of Authorities Cited, etc., by Sir Thomas E. Holland, together with Photograph of Legnano's Tomb.

II. A Translation of the Text, by J. L. Brierly.

III. A Photographic Reproduction of the First Edition (1477).

RACHEL, SAMUEL: *De Jure Naturae et Gentium Dissertationes*. Edited by Ludwig von Bar. 2 vols. 1916. Price, \$4.00.

Vol. I. A Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1676, with portrait of Rachel, Introduction by Ludwig von Bar, and List of Errata. 16A+x+335 p.

Vol. II. A Translation of the Text, by John Pawley Bate, with Index of Authors Cited. 16A+iv+233 p.

TEXTOR, JOHANN WOLFGANG: *Synopsis Juris Gentium*. Edited by Ludwig von Bar. 2 vols. 1916. Price, \$4.00.

Vol. I. A Photographic Reproduction of the First Edition (1680), with portrait of Textor. Introduction by Ludwig von Bar, and List of Errata. 28A+vi+148+168 p.

Vol. II. A Translation of the Text, by John Pawley Bate, with Index of Authors Cited. 26A+v+349 p.

VATTEL, E. DE: *Le Droit des Gens*. 3 vols. 1916. Price, \$8.00.

Vol. I. A Photographic Reproduction of Books I and II of the First Edition (1758), with portrait of Vattel and Introduction by Albert de Lapradelle. lix+541 p.

Vol. II. A Photographic Reproduction of Books III and IV of the First Edition (1758) xxiv+376 p.

Vol. III. A Translation of the Text, by Charles G. Fenwick, with translation (by G. D. Gregory) of Introduction by Albert de Lapradelle. lxxxviii+398 p.

VICTORIA, FRANCISCUS DE: *Relectiones: De Indis and De Jure Belli*. Edited by Ernest Nys. 1 vol. 1917. 500 p. Price, \$3.00.

I. Introduction by Ernest Nys, and Translation of Same, by John Pawley Bate.

II. A Translation of the Text, by John Pawley Bate.

III. Revised Text, with Prefatory Remarks, List of Errata, and Index of Authors Cited, by Herbert F. Wright.

IV. A Photographic Reproduction of Simon's Edition (1696).

ZOUCHE, RICHARD: *Juris et Judicii Fecialis, sive, Juris inter Gentes, et Quaestionum de Eodem Explicatio*. Edited by Sir Thomas E. Holland. 2 vols. 1916. Price, \$4.00.

Vol. I. A Photographic Reproduction of the First Edition (1650), with Introduction, List of Errata, and Table of Authors, by Sir Thomas E. Holland, together with portrait of Zouche. xvi+204 p.

Vol. II. A Translation of the Text, by J. L. Brierly. xvii+186 p.

#### ANNOUNCED FOR LATER PUBLICATION

BYNKERSHOEK, CORNELIUS VAN: *De Dominio Maris*.

I. A Translation of the Text, by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin.

II. A Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1744.

BYNKERSHOEK, CORNELIUS VAN: *Quaestionum Juris Publici Libri II*. Book II translated by Tenney Frank.

GENTILI, ALBERICO: *Hispanica Advocatio*.

I. A Translation of the Text, by Frank Frost Abbott, with an Index of Authors, prepared by Arthur Williams.

II. A Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1661.

GENTILI, ALBERICO: *De Iure Belli*. Translated by John C. Rolfe.

GENTILI, ALBERICO: *De Legationibus*. Translated by Gordon J. Laing.

GROTIUS, HUGO: *De Jure Belli ac Pacis and De Jure Praedae*.

MENANDRINO, MARSIGLIO (Marsilius of Padua): *Defensor Pacis*.

PUFENDORF, SAMUEL VON: *De Officio Hominis et Civis Juxta Legem Naturalem*. Translated by Frank Gardner Moore.

PUFENDORF, SAMUEL VON: *Elementa Jurisprudentiae Universalis*.

SUAREZ, FRANCISCO: *De Bello and portions of De Legibus and of other works*.

WHEATON, HENRY: *Elements of International Law and History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America*.

WOLFF, CHRISTIAN VON: *Jus Gentium Methodo Scientifica Pertractatum*.

I. Introduction by Otfried Nippold, and Translation of Same by Francis J. Hemelt.

II. A Translation of the Text, by Joseph H. Drake.

III. A Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1764.

#### PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

INSTITUT AMÉRICAIN DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL. *Historique, Notes, Opinions*. 153 p. 1916. Price, \$1.00.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: ITS DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS. By James Brown Scott, President. 125 p. 1916. Price, \$1.00. The same in French. 1916. Price, \$1.00.

LE DROIT INTERNATIONAL DE L'AVENIR. Par Alejandro Alvarez, Secrétaire Général. 153 p. 1916. Price, \$1.00.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF HABANA CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. By James Brown Scott, President. 100 p. 1917. Price, \$1.00.

INSTITUT AMÉRICAIN DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL. *Acte Final de la Session de la Havane. (Deuxième Session de l'Institut.) 22-27 janvier 1917. Résolutions. Projets. Questionnaire*. xiii+129 p. Price, \$1.00.

INSTITUTO AMERICANO DE DERECHO INTERNACIONAL. *Acta Final de la Sesión de la Habana. (Segunda Sesión del Instituto.) 22 a 27 de enero de 1917.* 94 p. Price, \$1.00.

#### PAMPHLETS

THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Address of Elihu Root, President of the American Society of International Law, at its Tenth Annual Meeting, April 27, 1916, Washington, D. C. 10 p.

The same in French.

The same in Spanish.

The same in Portuguese.



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# IN MEMORIAM

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ALBERT KEITH SMILEY

JOHN LAMBERT CADWALADER

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE

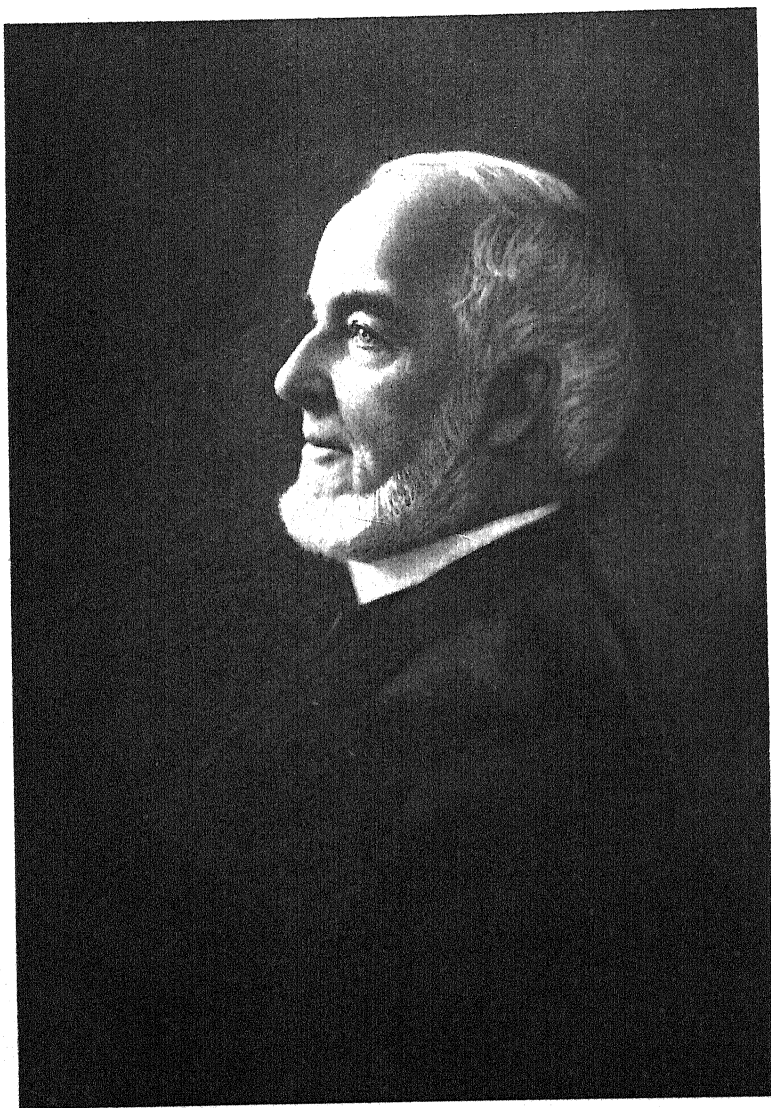
JOHN WATSON FOSTER

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*Albert H. Smiley*  
*March 17, 1828 - December 2, 1912*

### Albert Keith Smiley

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WHEREAS, Albert Keith Smiley, a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, died at Redlands, California, on December 2, 1912, be it

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment, in extending their profound sympathy to the family of Mr. Smiley, desire to place on record their sense of loss not only in the work in which we were as Trustees associated with him, but also to pay tribute to his devoted, disinterested and lifelong service to movements which contribute to the elevation of humanity. A graduate of Haverford College, he was for nineteen years the successful principal of the Friends' School at Providence, Rhode Island. A member of the Board of United States Indian Commissioners since 1879, he promoted the welfare of our nation's wards by organizing in 1882 the annual conference at Lake Mohonk of the friends and well-wishers of the Indians. Impressed with the duty of intelligent and organized propaganda for the attainment of international peace through arbitration, he annually brought together at Lake Mohonk not only the leading workers in this cause in the United States, but from foreign countries as well, and imparted to their conferences a character and dignity which made them an inspiration at home and abroad. Earnest in purpose, simple in character, sympathetic by nature, unselfish in all relations with his fellow men, Mr. Smiley was a rare and beautiful type of the American citizen, and his influence and memory will abide with us.

### John Lambert Cadwalader

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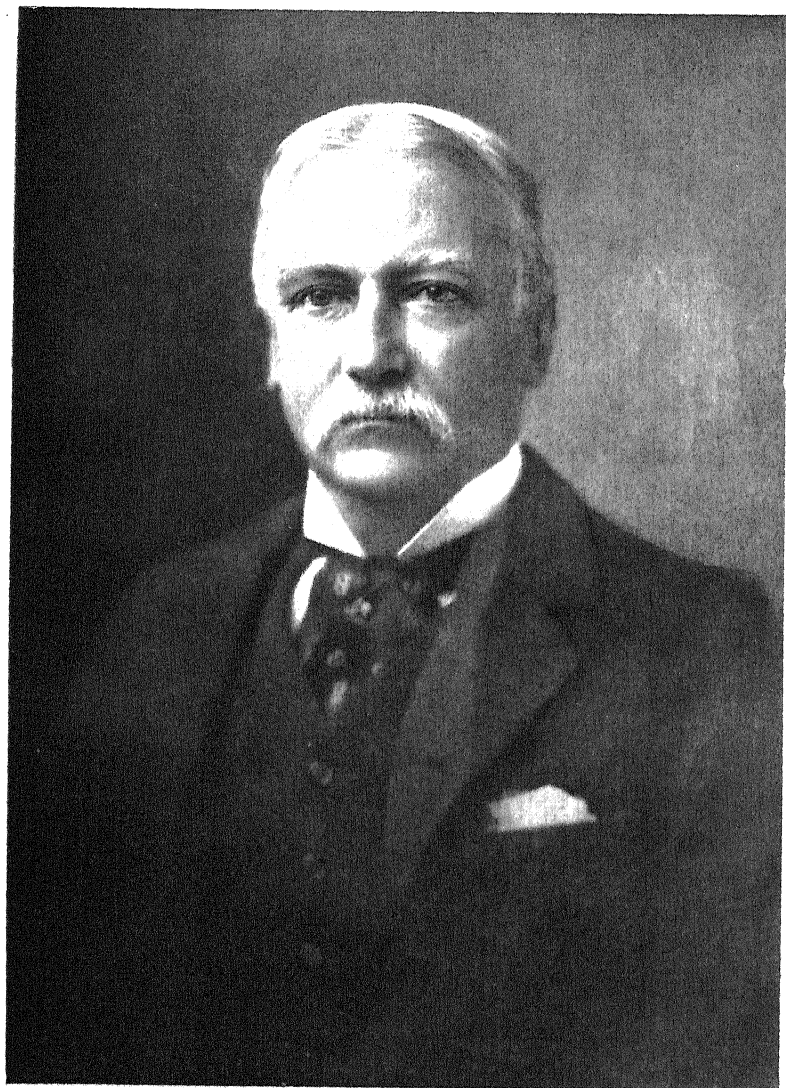
John Lambert Cadwalader, a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, died in New York on March 11, 1914.

Born November 17, 1837, he consecrated his long and useful life earnestly and effectively to the advancement of the human race.

A graduate of Princeton University in 1856, of the Harvard Law School in 1859, and the recipient of honorary degrees from many institutions, he became preeminent in his chosen profession of the law, in which he displayed a remarkable ability to concentrate his mind upon intricate problems and a like success in their solution.

Actuated by the highest ideals of public service, he became a trustee and president of the New York Public Library; a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the New York Zoological Society, of Princeton University, and of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, with all of which organizations the Endowment shares the loss of a citizen whose keen intellect, sound judgment, and breadth of mind made him an invaluable counselor in the affairs of city, state and nation: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace extend their profound sympathy to the family of Mr. Cadwalader, and inscribe in their permanent records this tribute to his character as a man and his services as a citizen.



*John L. Canale*  

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*November 17, 1837 - March 11, 1919*



## Joseph Hodges Choate<sup>1</sup>

BY ELIHU ROOT

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Joseph Hodges Choate was born in Salem, Massachusetts, January 24, 1832, and died at his home in the city of New York, May 14, 1917, in the fourth month of his eighty-sixth year. He was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1852, and from the Harvard Law School in 1854. He was then for a year a student in the office of Leverett Saltonstall of Boston, and he was admitted to the bar of Massachusetts in 1855. In September of the same year he removed to New York City; and after passing a few months in the office of Scudder & Carter, he entered the office of Messrs. Butler, Evarts & Southmayd, where he remained for nearly three years. In the meantime, in 1856, he was admitted to the bar of New York. In August, 1858, he formed a law partnership with Mr. W. H. L. Barnes, subsequently a leader of the bar of California; but early in the following year he returned to his former associates, and became a partner in the law firm of Evarts, Southmayd & Choate, a relation which continued throughout the entire professional lives of the partners. He was married in October, 1861, to Miss Caroline Dutcher Sterling. There were five children of the marriage, three sons and two daughters, of whom three survive, one daughter and two sons, one of whom bears his father's name. Mr. Choate was one of the founders of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, a signer of the preliminary articles by which it was created in December, 1869. He was president of that association in 1888 and 1889, president of the Bar Association of the State of New York from 1906 to 1908, president of the American Bar Association in 1898 and 1899, and president of the New York County Lawyers' Association. He was a member of the Commission of 1890 appointed by the Governor under legislative authority to report a revision of the judicial system of the state of New York. He was president of the Constitutional Convention that in 1894 framed the Constitution under which the people of the state still live. In January, 1899, he was appointed Ambassador from the United States to Great Britain, and he served his country in that office for six years until May, 1905. On the 10th of April, 1905, the bar of England claimed him as a fellow of that great company by electing him to be a Bencher of the Middle Temple. Upon his return to his home he resumed his activity at the bar; but in

<sup>1</sup> At its meeting on March 2, 1918, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee present to the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees in April next for adoption as a memorial to the late Joseph H. Choate, the memorial presented to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York by the Honorable Elihu Root; and as a memorial for adoption by the Board to the late John W. Foster the memorial notice prepared by Dr. James Brown Scott for the *American Journal of International Law*.

1907 he was again made Ambassador, and the head of the Delegation from the United States to the Second Hague Conference, where he contributed an important part to the substantial advance in the establishment and definition of international law and procedure accomplished by that Conference. Upon his return from The Hague he again resumed practice, less actively of course than in earlier years.

In the meantime he had come to be a Doctor of Laws of Amherst, Harvard, Yale, Williams, Union, the University of Pennsylvania, of McGill and Toronto, of Cambridge, Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Glasgow, and a Doctor of Civil Law of Oxford.

The forty-three years which elapsed between admission to the bar in 1856 and the Embassy to Great Britain in 1899 were filled by the work of the pure lawyer. Neither business nor recreation nor politics nor any other interest diverted him from a continual and amazing activity in the trial and argument of causes. He was never an attorney. Circumstances and natural adaptation placed him from the beginning altogether upon the court rather than the office side of that line which exists in the nature of things between the duties of the barrister and the duties of the solicitor, and made him an advocate.

He was wise and resourceful in counsel, continually called into conference for opinion and advice for the direction of conduct and avoidance of litigation; but the main business of his life was conflict at the bar. In all branches of the law, civil and criminal, common law and equity, military, ecclesiastical, patent, probate, marriage and divorce, constitutional, international, before juries, judges at *nisi prius*, arbitrators, courts martial, statutory committees and commissions, in all tribunals where judicial functions were to be exercised, up to the Supreme Court of the United States, his potent voice was heard asserting and maintaining rights for more than sixty years. He achieved the most brilliant and distinguished success. He was the delight of juries who yielded gladly to his charm, and the pride of courts who felt the dignity of their office enhanced by his appearance before them. His discussion of great constitutional questions strengthened the foundations of our free institutions. His shining example was an inspiration to the bar and the despair of emulation.

The law reports presented continually accumulating evidence of the most substantial basis of a lawyer's reputation, for the reports of causes argued by him supported the judgment of those who heard or read the arguments that they exhibited a wide range of sound learning, extraordinary discrimination, capacity to divine crucial questions, and power of effective presentation. The reports gave evidence also of an extraordinarily high proportion of success in the causes tried and argued, continuing through so long a period of years as to be conclusive proof of the possession of those solid qualities of advocacy which alone command enduring success. This great preponderance of success in litigation was notwithstanding the fact that for so many years of his life his conspicuous merit as an advocate brought to him great numbers of difficult and doubtful



cases, in which the parties sought to overcome a probability of defeat by superiority of counsel. As the generations of the profession passed, traditions gathered about the path he had traversed,—stories of his great achievements, of brilliant attack and desperate defense, of wonderful cross-examination and masterful argument, of wise and witty sayings, of humor and satire, of imperturbable self-possession and poise, of swift insight, of courage and audacity, told by judges and lawyers and jurors and court officers, were repeated wherever lawyers gathered, and became a part of the common professional knowledge of the history of the bar.

As he grew older in the profession, his attention as a lawyer became less exclusively concentrated upon the interests of particular cases, and was broadened in scope to include the administration of justice as a whole. The public duties of the bar, the ethics of the profession, the lessons of its history, the inspiration of its great examples, attracted more of his thought as his experience increased. In his addresses as president of the state and national associations of the bar, in his speeches to the bar when from time to time it met upon casual occasions, in the memorials read before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, in his speeches to the Constitutional Convention, in many of his formal public addresses, first among which stands the noble address upon the unveiling of the statue of Rufus Choate in the Court House in Boston, he expressed so clearly the underlying spirit and purpose of the American bar, he represented with such cogency and command the bar at its best of real devotion to justice and liberty, that the finest thought and feeling of the profession came to follow him, and to look to him as a leader, not merely because he tried causes more skilfully or argued them more powerfully than others, but also, because he put the power and prestige of his great reputation in the courtroom behind the thrust of advocacy for the honor and public service of the bar as a whole.

He has told us what his conception of advocacy was and his whole life helped mightily to establish that high standard. He said:

I maintain that in no other occupation to which men can devote their lives is there a nobler intellectual pursuit or a higher moral standard than that which inspires and pervades the ranks of the legal profession. To establish justice, to maintain the rights of man, to defend the helpless and oppressed, to succor innocence, and to punish guilt, to aid in the solution of those great questions legal and constitutional which are constantly being evolved from the ever varying affairs and business of men are duties that may well challenge the best powers of man's intellect and the noblest qualities of the human heart.

Thus, the recognition of power and promise which he commanded from his seniors in the sixties was gradually succeeded by universal admiration, deference, and pride in his leadership among the juniors of his later years. Wherever the class consciousness of the bar of New York sought expression in the comrade-

ship of social intercourse, in protest against abuse, in repelling assaults upon the administration of justice or demands for its improvement, in concerted action upon any great public question, his came to be the sympathetic leadership, his the clear voice, the commanding authority, the unimpeachable representation of the noblest impulses of the profession. The great leaders and colleagues of his early and middle life passing from the stage left him alone without an equal or a rival, the most eminent, the most admired, and the most revered advocate and counselor of the bar not only of New York but of our country.

In this country of popular self-government, however, it did not satisfy him to be successful in the trial of causes, or to win the respect and admiration of the bar alone. To be a great American lawyer in the broadest sense, one must be a great citizen, and Mr. Choate was that. He realized that our system of law striking its roots far back in the customs and struggles in which the liberties of England were developed, shaped by the fathers of the Republic to suit the conditions of a freer life, adapted from generation to generation to meet the new requirements of national growth, rests always upon the foundation of general public conviction that it is fit and adequate to secure justice and to preserve individual liberty. He knew that public respect for law, public confidence in the judicial system through which the law is administered, public faith in the wisdom and rightfulness of those great rules of conduct which we have written into our Constitutions for the limitation of official power in its relation to the life, the liberty, and the property of the private citizen, are essential to the maintenance of the most vital rights which from day to day we assert in the courts. He welcomed the privilege of the American lawyer not merely to insist upon the application to his client's case of the principles of American law, but to assert and defend the principles themselves before the great governing body of American citizens who make and can unmake the law. He understood that American lawyers can not rightfully be a separate body cultivating a mystery; that they ought to be an active part of the citizenship of the country sharing in the formation and expression of its opinion, in its social and political life, and by virtue of their special knowledge and training, leaders of opinion among their fellows in the community. He said to the Chicago bar in February, 1898:

But at all times, and especially in this our day, great public duties await us. So long as the Supreme Court exists to be attacked and defended (that sheet anchor of our liberties and of our government), so long as the public credit and good faith of this great nation are in peril, so long as the right of property which lies at the root of all civil government is scouted and the three inalienable rights to life, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness which the Declaration of Independence proclaimed and the Constitution has guaranteed alike against the action of Congress and of the states, are in jeopardy,—so long will great public service be demanded of the bar.

Let us magnify our calling. Let us be true to these great occasions, and respond with all our might to these great demands, so that when our work is done, of us at least it may be said that we transmitted our profession to our successors as great, as useful, and as spotless as it came to our hands.

These functions of the American lawyer Mr. Choate performed with unwearying interest and devotion, and with signal distinction. He received from his Massachusetts ancestry and brought with him from his old Salem home a large measure of that amazing formative power, which, proceeding from the few scanty settlements on the Atlantic shore, has molded this vast continent with its hundred millions of people according to the course of the common law, and to conceptions of right inspired by the spirit of Magna Charta, and of the immortal declaration of rights unalienable, to secure which governments are instituted.

The blood in his veins, the influences of early environment of education and training, the foundations of his political belief, all made impossible for him the conception of a free community in whose public affairs it was not the duty of every private citizen to take an active part. He took such a part as a matter of course, and with an effectiveness natural to his exceptional powers. His intense and instinctive patriotism made him keenly alive to the welfare of the nation, and of the state and city in which he lived. The strain of labor in the courts never prevented him from doing his full share both in government and in the public movements and private enterprises, through which a democratic community develops the best side of its nature.

At the age of thirty-five he was president of the New England Society in New York, the organization which for more than a century has done honor to the history and spirit of his race. At forty-one he was president of the Union League Club, that institution created in the darkest days of the Civil War to promote, encourage, and sustain absolute and unqualified loyalty to the Government of the United States. He was president of the Harvard Club, of the Harvard Law School Association, of the Century Association. For forty years before his death he was a governor of the New York Hospital. He was president of the New York Association for the Blind. He was president of the State Charities Aid Association. He was one of the incorporators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and one of its trustees for the forty-seven years which followed its organization in 1870; and for many years before his death he was chairman of its Law Committee, and a member of its Executive Committee, and vice president. He was one of the incorporators and during all its existence a trustee of the American Museum of Natural History. He was an active trustee and the vice president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was vice president of the Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. He was a member and chairman of the subcommittee on elections, of the Committee of Seventy, that committee which roused the honest citizenship of New York to the rescue of the city from the shame of the Tweed Ring control. He was honorary president and an active coadjutor in the National Defense League, which did so much to arouse the patriotic people of our country to realize the deadly peril to their liberty of possible German military domination, and to make them understand that the time had come when American institutions must be

defended again by force of arms, or must perish. He was not a dreamer to reject the natural agency of political parties in popular self-government, and he did not hold himself aloof from the activities of the party which seemed to him the best agent of government. He never changed or wavered in his political allegiance. He made his first public political speech for Fremont in 1856, and his last for Hughes in 1916; but he conceived of a political party as an organization by which many citizens, agreed upon major questions of principle and policy, may give practical effect to their opinions in actual government. His interest was in the public effect of party control, not in office or emoluments. His activity was in the leadership of opinion, not in party management; he took little or no part in that. He sought no office, and he entered into no combinations. He held no party office. I remember that moving some forty years ago into a new neighborhood and attending for the first time the Republican Association of the old twenty-first Assembly District, I found him there attending to his duties as a citizen; and he was there as one of the rank and file. He was always in the ranks. But, when the time of conflict came between opposing parties or against misleading leadership in his own party, when serious decisions were to be made by the instructed judgment and conscience of the people, then he was wont to come as a champion from the ranks with all the weapons in the armory of debate, with clarity of statement and destructive satire, and power of appeal, and charm of persuasion, against things sordid and corrupt, against the follies of ignorance and prejudice, against indifference and decadence and for the cause he deemed just, for the living spirit of American institutions.

He did not reserve himself for great occasions and great efforts; but gave without reserve to the everyday activities which taken together fill so great a part of the life of the community. In the multitude of gatherings half public half social through which the members of a community are welded together in sympathy of good fellowship and of opinion, he played a leading part for almost half a century. It is hard to understand how any man engaged in the exhausting labors of a crowded professional life could find the strength and resiliency of body and mind to make speeches in vast number at public dinners and luncheons and meetings for all sorts of objects, where he delighted and instructed the crowd year after year during his long active life; yet, he did so with undiminished brilliancy until the end. It would have been impossible but for a strong and active interest in the life of the world, in everything that went on in the community, and a genuine liking for the people among whom he lived, sympathy with their feelings, and understanding of their characters. He was never uninteresting. His wit and humor never obscured or belittled his serious thought, and his serious thoughts were never dull. He richly merited the great fame he acquired as an after-dinner speaker. In viewing that phase of his activity as a whole, it is plain that he made it the means of great influence and useful service. He promoted causes and institutions in which he was interested, and inspired in the tens of thousands who listened to him not merely admiration and

grateful remembrance, but respect for his authority, and acceptance of his ideas. The reputation of many great lawyers is confined to their own profession; but the wide range of his activities extended a knowledge of his great abilities and commanding character to the public at large, and brought appreciation from the general body of good citizens. To achieve a commanding position in the public life of this great country ordinarily requires the holding of high office. The office itself can not give the holder such a position, but it carries to the minds of the great multitude who have to form their judgments chiefly upon hearsay, a presumption of a right to be heard in public affairs. The presumption may not be justified and may fade out of existence, but it is the door of opportunity, and few men acquire great public consideration without it. Almost entirely without the aid of office, Mr. Choate acquired universal recognition as a great public character, a significant figure in the public life of his time, speaking with authority and entitled to leadership of opinion. This position was fully established before he was appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, and he was appointed to that office because of it. The basis of that great position was achievement at the bar, and the devotion of powers trained at the bar to the duties of a private citizen in the service of the community and the country.

Nature was very kind to him. She gave him a sound body, a constitution capable of enduring without injury the strain of long continued and severe effort, and a temperament which saved him from the exhausting effect of worries and fears and passions and vain regrets, and she gave him a physical presence most impressive and attractive. He was tall, fully six feet in height, slender and erect in his early years, broad shouldered, and carrying an impression of poise and balanced strength; the leonine head was set perfectly in its place, and his face was luminous even in repose with the beauty of intellect and nobility of character, sublimated and manifestly active and dominant. His voice was clear, pleasing to the ear, and far carrying. I do not recall that he ever strained it, or seemed to be forcing it unduly. He was never oratorical even in passages of greatest force and feeling. His manner was dignified and courtly, but perfectly simple and unaffected, and it was the same everywhere and to everybody. Forty-odd years ago, when we were in the beginnings of a friendship which has been for me one of the chief satisfactions and joys of life, I used to think that he was the most beautiful and splendid specimen of manhood I had ever seen. I have revised my judgment upon this; for, after the declaration of war with Germany, when he knew that the manhood and honor of his country had reasserted themselves, in the benign and radiant face with its lines of old experience and wisdom, made purer and gentler by trial and high endeavor, still alert with intelligence and feeling, shining with the joy of unselfish patriotism, and in the massive form bowed under the weight of a noble life, there was a beauty surpassing that of conquering youth; and the memory of it is a benediction.

His mind was strong, well balanced, and wonderfully alert and rapid in action. Its response to the emergencies which so continually arise in court was

instantaneous, and apparently intuitive. Extraordinary power of discrimination and a sense of material and crucial questions relieved him of the burden of both-ering over immaterial matters, and enabled him to work with great ease. This faculty, combined with his vast experience, led some younger men who were with him as juniors to think that he worked very little; but that was a mistaken idea. He worked very hard and with great intensity, but he was happy in escaping the great mass of unnecessary work which most of us have to do. When he came to New York in 1855 he brought a letter from his father's cousin Rufus Choate to Mr. Evarts. He prized this letter very highly, and I am sure that he would not have exchanged it for any patent of nobility. I will reproduce it here:

BOSTON, 24 Sept., 1855.

MY DEAR MR. EVARTS,

I beg to incur one other obligation to you by introducing the bearer my friend and kinsman to your kindness.

He is just admitted to our bar, was graduated at Cambridge with a very high reputation for scholarship and all worth, and comes to the practice of the law, I think, with extraordinary promise. He has decided to enroll himself among the brave and magnanimous of your bar, with a courage not unwarranted by his talents, character, ambition and power of labor. There is no young man whom I love better, or from whom I hope more or as much; and if you can do anything to smooth the way to his first steps the kindness will be most seasonable and will yield all sorts of good fruits.

Most truly,

Your servant and friend,

RUFUS CHOATE.

The particular expression of this letter which he valued most was the reference to his "power of labor," and he never regarded as a compliment the suggestion that he reached his results without the exercise of that power.

This letter points to one of the chief influences in the development of his character and the direction of his life. No one who has watched his career and has read the address in which he paid his tribute to the majestic and lovable personality of Rufus Choate, can fail to be convinced that widely as they differed in temperament and in their surroundings, admiration and reverence for his great kinsman was one of the controlling influences of the younger life. Much as they differed, there was a striking resemblance in the standards of life, the intensity of application, the tenacity of purpose, the ardor of conflict, combined with the broad and kindly view, the strong sense of humor, the love of literature and reliance upon its broadening and humanizing influence to correct the narrowing effect of exclusively professional interests, the impulse for public service and the intense love of country: all these were found in both the older and the younger Choate. One was the spiritual successor of the other. Rufus Choate came to the bar in the year 1823, and he continued for four years after his young relative's admission. Thus, for almost a hundred years these two men of the same name and family, products of the same influences, and inheritors

of the same traditions and the same ideals, adorned and ennobled the American Bar, and each in his turn rose to great heights of honor and renown. The younger man was fortunate also in associating during the formative period of his career with really great leaders whose influence tended along the same lines of development. How could there be broader scope or loftier spirit than he found in Mr. Evarts, the advocate and statesman, eloquent, philosophical, delightful companion, the wittiest lawyer of his time, and Mr. Southmayd, the typical solicitor, learned, logical, cautious, independent in judgment, stubborn in opinion, caustic in expression. They were not merely partners, they were friends, and nothing could be more delightful than the intercourse between them.

Our friend was enabled to use his intellectual power to the highest advantage by two qualities of the first importance. One was his clear and instinctive courage. He was wholly free from any impediment of timidity. This quality did not impress one as being the kind of courage which overcomes fear, but, rather, as a courage which excluded fear. With him, no such emotion as fear seemed to exist. The other closely allied quality was a universal and invincible cheerfulness. In all my varied opportunities for observation for many years, he was the same. I never knew him to be sullen, or sour, or bitter, or cross, or fretful. He strongly condemned some things and some men with force and picturesque expression, but never with the least tinge of malevolence. He had his griefs, which sank deep in his heart, but his buoyant spirits and high courage forbade them to control his conduct; and, through them all, he presented the same bright and cheerful face to the world. He brought to the breakfast table always the same genial and cheery lifting of spirit which made him such a welcome guest at the banquet tables of New York. He was as lively and interesting with a dozen friends, or with one friend, as with five hundred, because he was entirely free from false pretense, and he was the same man with the public audience that he was with his close and private friends. He had a most serene and imperturbable temper. He never lost his self-possession or entire control of his powers. Safe upon this ground of vantage, he took special delight in making his adversary angry, and in reaping the benefits.

He was a loyal and devoted friend, as he was loyal to every cause he espoused, and to every case he undertook; and he left no debt of friendship unpaid. No trouble was too great, no labor too arduous for him to help a friend. His power of satire and ridicule were terrible weapons, and he used them unsparingly, always most fatally when he was most gentle and childlike in manner. When engaged in battle he used all his weapons without respect of persons, and his thrusts often wounded his friends at the bar more deeply than he probably knew. Yet, I think he never lost a battle through friendship, or lost a friend through what he said or did in battle. It was impossible to cherish resentment against him. He fought as those gay and debonnaire youths of Dumas, who drew their swords with alacrity, and, rejoicing in their skill, fought joyously upon all suitable occasions without anger or malice, to death or victory or eternal

brotherhood. Before a jury he was a master of the art of appearing surprised, and of appearing indifferent; but nothing was further from his habit than personal display. Anyone with his appearance and talents might be pardoned for thinking of so agreeable a subject as his own person; but he never appeared to do so. He was thinking always of his object, and carefully studying the minds and feelings of those to whom he spoke. He studied his juries, his judges and his audiences with sympathetic insight, and his favorite method of capturing their judgment was by boldly invading the field of their personal experience and interest, making himself at home with them, and when he departed leaving his own ideas with his audience as a part of their household goods. He very seldom told a story. His wit and humor did not percolate through him from the *gesta Romanorum*, or from the pages of American humorists. They were the natural reaction of his own mind from his perception of the persons and events that surrounded him at the time. He was a fountain, not a conduit, of humor. His speeches were interesting because his way of looking at men and life was fresh and original.

It is quite inadequate to say that he was always cheerful and interesting. He had in him something far beyond that, which I can not describe to myself better than by calling it the eternal boy in him. He rejoiced in life. He spurned dull care. He bubbled over with fun. He dearly loved a little boyish mischief. That was rather a dangerous faculty, but the danger gave it zest. There is an old story (I think it belonged to Mr. Evarts) of an American assuring an Englishman that Washington could throw a dollar across the Potomac because he had thrown a sovereign across the Atlantic. Mr. Choate would never have deigned to tell that ancient joke here, but when he got to England and before an English audience he could not resist the desire to see his English friends contemplating the aerial flight of their sovereign, and he told it I think several times. It befell me to sit near him at a famous St. Patrick's Day dinner, and he stopped at my chair and made a remark which indicated that he was having huge enjoyment with himself over something he was going to say. When he suggested that the Irish in America should redeem poor unhappy Ireland by going home, he was following the same kind of boyish impulse for mischief which leads school boys to carry their disconcerting pranks to the limit of audacity.

He had great force and nobility and purity of character. He made the world his debtor by great usefulness in many fields. He deserved and received great praise and admiration for his achievements; but, after all, I think it was the delightful "boy" in him that made us love him. It was that which joined to his other qualities made him so different from ordinary men. It was that blithe spirit which gave color and life and light to the whole character.

He had something that superior intellect and character do not always give—he had distinction; and above all, he had charm—that inexplicable quality whose origins are veiled among the mysteries of life.



Mr. Choate owed his selection as a delegate at large to the Constitutional Convention of 1894 largely to the fact that there seemed little probability of a Republican success in the election of 1893. He was so much of a free lance, his shafts of ridicule had wounded so many organization leaders, that in ordinary times there was little chance of his receiving a nomination really desired by any of the faithful. The Democrats were then, however, under the astute management of Senator Hill in control of the machinery of the state government. They were in possession of the national government also, and the influences which had driven the Republicans from power both in the nation and the state seemed still to be dominant. The Republican ticket for 1893 was accordingly made up rather less than usual under the influence of a desire to distribute party rewards, and rather more than usual with a view to present a list of candidates who would secure all the chances of success possible, and whose defeat might be regarded with philosophy on the part of the organization. In addition to this, the fact that the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1867 had been rejected by the people, and that the work of the Constitutional Commission of 1890 had not received sufficient popular support to prevent its being ignored by the legislature, had created an impression that the work of the proposed convention would have no practical results. There was accordingly little pressure for nominations to the convention, and Mr. Choate's name readily found a place at the head of the delegates at large as a means of giving distinction to the whole ticket.

When it turned out that there had been a political revolution in the state, and that the Republicans had a majority of the convention, including all the delegates at large, his selection as president of the convention followed as a matter of course, and for a period of nearly five months during which the convention was in session he presided in the most delightful and effective way. He did not trouble himself very much about the technical details of parliamentary procedure. He preserved the substance of it, of course; but he was very fond of getting things done, and would sometimes make the most surprising shortcuts to reach results—always results, however, which would certainly have been reached by the more cumbrous process of slower minds, and never at the sacrifice of the substantial rights of the minority, and he always maintained his positions in such a way as to fill the souls of the majority with joy and command their enthusiastic support. Occasionally, when there was a heated debate, he would take the floor, and his speeches were always of great power and cogency. I always thought of the Olympians joining the fray under the walls of Troy. Two speeches that rest especially in my memory are: one in support of the new judiciary article, and one upon the public schools. There had been an attempt to insert in an article reported by the Committee on Education a clause which would authorize state aid to schools under religious control. This was regarded by some of us as dangerous in the highest degree, tending to break down the separation between Church and State, and to destroy our whole unsectarian

public school system. The attempt succeeded in the committee of the whole; but, when the article was reported to the convention, there was a counter attack, and Mr. Choate left the chair, and came down to the floor, and made a fine and noble speech. The real nature of the thing that was being done was made plain, and the vote was reversed, and the obnoxious provision was defeated.

It was my good fortune to be by his appointment chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the convention, and that position carried by custom the leadership of the majority on the floor of the convention, so that we were obliged to be in constant conference over the business of the session. Accordingly, we took a house together near the Capitol, and kept house jointly during the entire period, and I had exceptional opportunity to know about the influence which he exercised over the conduct of affairs. We kept open house for the members of the convention, and almost every important convention question was considered and discussed there. He was practically a member of every committee, and his clear vision and sound practical sense made themselves felt in every department of the convention work through those personal conferences and discussions which properly play so great a part in shaping the judgment and directing the action of every deliberative body.

Mr. Choate's service in the foreign affairs of the country was of the highest value. When he was appointed Ambassador from the United States to Great Britain at the age of sixty-seven, there were several very serious and difficult questions between the two countries which required to be treated with great skill and judgment if serious controversy was to be prevented. The very positive defiance of Great Britain in Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message of December, 1895, and the general expression of American feeling in support of that defiance, had created an atmosphere not altogether favorable to mutual concessions. This had been modified, but not wholly dispelled, by Great Britain's discouragement of European intervention during our war with Spain, and by the wisdom and good sense of Mr. Hay and President McKinley on the one side and Lord Salisbury on the other during the first two years of the McKinley administration. Only a few months before Mr. Choate's appointment a joint high commission, established for the settlement of a formidable array of Canadian questions, sitting alternately in Canada and Washington, with Lord Chancellor Herschel at the head of the British section, and Vice President Fairbanks at the head of the American section, had reached an *impasse*, and had dissolved without any settlement. The chief and apparently insuperable obstacle which barred the commission from settlement upon any question was the deadlock over the Alaskan boundary. That was a serious and critical matter, because at any time a new gold discovery in the disputed territory was liable to bring the miners on either side of the line into actual hostilities, and to set all Canada and Western America aflame. Under the diplomacy of Mr. Choate in London and Mr. Hay in Washington a *modus vivendi* was established; and a treaty was made providing for the submission of the boundary questions to a tribunal composed of an equal

number from each country charged to hear the evidence, and decide according to law. The tribunal sat in London in the year 1903, and by its judgment the controversy was finally determined. With that stumbling-block removed, every other question which was before the joint high commission of 1898 has since been satisfactorily settled and disposed of.

When Mr. Choate was appointed, the United States had just reached a full realization of the necessity of a canal across the Central American isthmus under American control. We were forced to that realization by the results of the war with Spain, the cession of Porto Rico, and the responsibility for the protection of Cuba, by the growth of population and commerce on the Pacific coast, by the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines, by the appearance on the horizon of grave questions of international policy towards the Far East. It was necessary for our internal commerce and our naval protection that our Atlantic and Pacific coasts should be united by a ship canal under our control; but the way was blocked by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which the United States and Great Britain had agreed that any such canal should be practically under a partnership of the two nations. The object could not be attained while that treaty stood. Under the wise and highly competent diplomacy of Mr. Choate in London and Mr. Hay in Washington the partnership was abandoned, and the obstacle of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was removed upon the sole condition of equal treatment to the commerce of the world in the canal to be built and controlled by the United States.

When Mr. Choate went to London, China seemed to be on the verge of partition by the great powers, who had established naval and military stations and spheres of influence in Chinese territory, and who, mutually suspicious, were reaching out each for more control, in order to prevent other powers from acquiring it. There was no escape from partition, except by stopping that process. With partition the door for American trade with China would be closed, and the opportunity of China for liberty and self-government would disappear. America alone was free from suspicion, and from that vantage ground Mr. Hay undertook to stop the process of partition by proposing a universal agreement upon the principle of the open door. Without the agreement of Great Britain effort would have been useless. It fell to Mr. Choate to secure that agreement from the British Government, and it was given cheerfully and ungrudgingly, and the principle of the open door was established in China. So far it has saved for China her territory and her opportunity to try out her experiment of self-government under republican institutions. Incidentally, it was the relation of mutual confidence established by that agreement, which made it possible for the troops of America, England, Japan, France, and Russia, to cooperate in the march to Peking and the rescue of the legations in the Boxer uprising in 1900.

The diplomatic correspondence of that time shows the great part Mr. Choate played in these most important affairs, and how great was the skill and competency he exhibited in the negotiations which they involved. There were many

other important things done—and well done—during his six years of service. Let no one suppose that results in the negotiation of such affairs come of themselves. They require long and patient labor, quick perception, judgment of character, tact, skill and wisdom. Incompetency is fatal.

His service in direct relation to the people of Great Britain was perhaps even greater than his service in negotiation with the British Government. The most important thing in the relations between modern democracies is the feeling of two peoples towards each other. If they like each other and trust each other, any question can be settled. He carried to Great Britain the same readiness for service, the same social unselfishness, the same cheerful, brilliant and interesting qualities as a public speaker, which had made him so admired and beloved at home. He accepted countless invitations to attend countless banquets and cornerstone layings, and openings of institutions, and unveilings, and celebrations, and meetings of all kinds, and to make countless speeches. Ambassadorial dignity did not injure him in the slightest degree. He must have been often wearied, but he was never bored, for he really interested himself in the affairs and the characters of the people. He talked to them in a sympathetic way about their affairs, and he told them simply and interestingly about the great men of our history and what Americans were doing, and thinking, and feeling. He was clever and stimulating, and enveloped his serious thought there as he did here with a mantle of humor and fun. He must have kept our British cousins guessing for a while at first, but they soon came to know him, and to understand him with undiluted enjoyment. Upon formal and serious occasions he delivered carefully prepared addresses, admirable in literary form and in serious thought, on Benjamin Franklin, on Alexander Hamilton, on Lincoln, on Emerson and on John Harvard, on the Supreme Court of the United States, Education in America, and, appealing to the common sympathies of both countries, on the English Bible. He represented the people of the United States to the people of Great Britain for so long a period on so many occasions in so many ways and so delightfully, as to create an enduring impression of the highest value. We did not see then as fully as we see now that a good understanding between Great Britain and the United States was no ordinary international affair, but that these two nations inspired by the same ideals of individual liberty and free self-government were destined to fight together, and stand or fall together, in defense of their common liberty against the hateful dominion of military autocracy; and that our friend's six years of unwearied labor to unite the two nations in strong ties of good understanding and kindly feeling was a special service to civilization.

The selection of Mr. Choate as an Ambassador Extraordinary at the head of the American Delegation to the Second Hague Conference in 1907 followed naturally upon his career at home and in Great Britain. No other man in the United States had shown himself possessed in so high a degree of so many of the qualities necessary for that service. He had learning without pedantry, power of expression which never sacrificed accuracy to rhetoric, or sense to sound,

courage saved from rashness by quick perception and long experience, the lawyer's point of view and the statesman's point of view, the technique of forensic debate, and the technique of diplomatic intercourse. His brilliant success in the Embassy to Great Britain and the high position which he had acquired there had made his great reputation known to the public men of Europe, who at that time ordinarily knew little and cared less about American lawyers, so that he was able to speak at The Hague with great personal prestige and authority. His work at The Hague fully met the expectations of his government, and fully justified his selection, for he became one of the great leaders of the Conference and held a commanding position in its deliberations, and under him the whole American delegation worked together with admirable team play. If any part of his work were selected for special praise, it should be his addresses upon the immunity of private property at sea, on international arbitration and on the establishment of an International Court of Justice, all of which show very strikingly how much this country lost when New York failed to send Mr. Choate to the United States Senate in 1897. The events of the Great War have tended to obscure in most minds the value of the things done in the Hague Conferences; but that is only because the irresponsible brute force of Germany and her allies has thrown over the whole world the dark shadow of a revolt of barbarism against modern civilization. Notwithstanding the fact that all the rules of international law declared or agreed upon in the Hague Conferences have been flouted and broken and ground to powder, during the past three years, and notwithstanding that the idea of a peaceable settlement for international disputes seems for the moment to have slipped back into the company of idle dreams, yet the declarations and agreements of those Conferences took many fundamental principles and rules of the law of nations out of the obscurity of inaccessible treaties and conflicting text writers, and made them a distinct and known basis on which the world has rendered its judgment of condemnation upon the conduct of Germany and her allies. And when modern civilization reasserts its control—as it is sure to do—the community of nations seeking to regulate its affairs so that peace rather than war may be normal, will inevitably make its starting point from the platform established by Mr. Choate and his colleagues at the Second Hague Conference. A multitude of plans for the reorganization of the world after the war have been appearing continuously ever since the war began. Most of them settle everything except the difficulties; but they are all alike in one respect. Their postulates are identical with the conclusions reached by the Second Hague Conference on questions which had been doubtful and controverted.

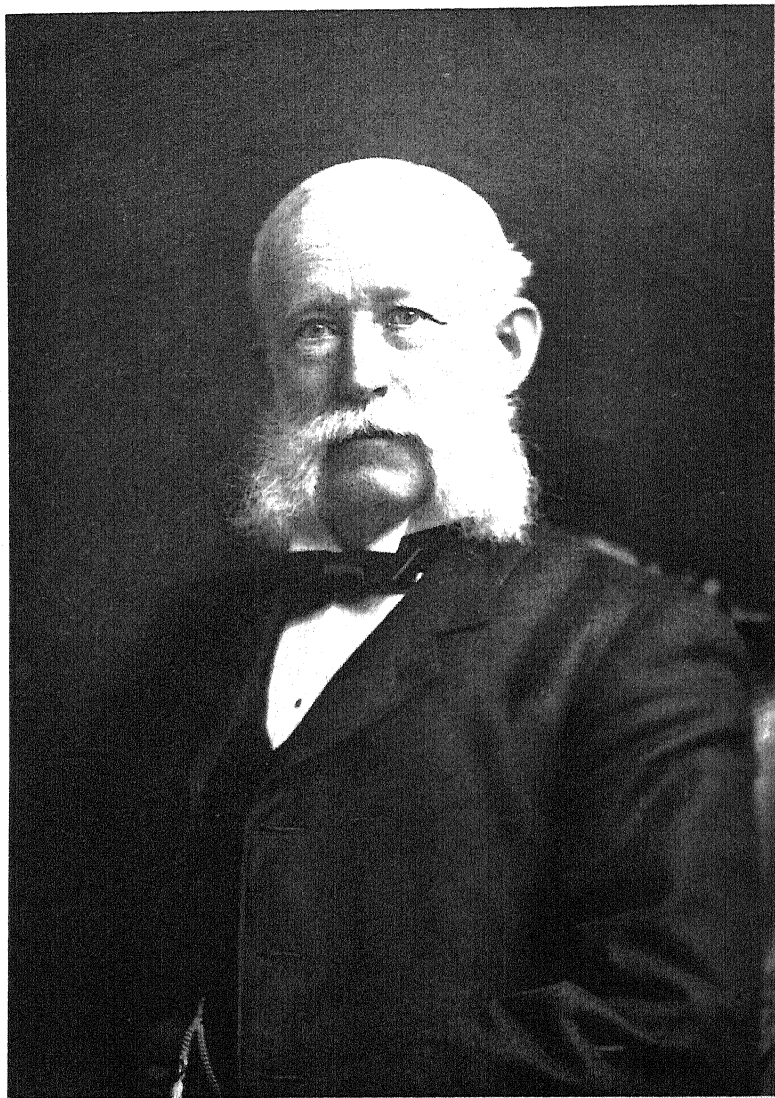
But the greatest of all the services which Mr. Choate rendered to his country in his long and useful life was at the close, when he realized—as he did very soon after the beginning of the war—that the independence and liberty of the United States were threatened less immediately but not less certainly than those of England and France, by the German grasp for military dominion. With all the vigor and strong conviction of youth he abandoned the comfortable leisure to which

the ninth decade of his life entitled him, and threw himself with enthusiasm into the task of making his countrymen see as he saw the certain dangers that lay before them, and the duty that confronted them to rouse themselves and act, for the preservation of their own liberties and the liberties of the world. With voice and pen he pressed his appeal with all the authority of his great reputation, with the wisdom of his experience, the power of an intellect undimmed, of a heart still warm, with the intensity of a great and living patriotism. When that appeal and the appeal of others who thought and felt with him were answered, and the great decision was made that committed a slowly awakening people to struggle and sacrifice for the preservation of the institutions which he had defended all his life, a great relief and joy possessed him. He was made chairman of the New York Committee for the reception of the Commissions from England and France under Balfour and Viviani and Marshal Joffre, who came to America after the declaration of war to confirm and help to make immediately practical and effective the new league of democracy for the war against autocracy. It was his part to lead the people of his own city in a reception of our new allies, so generous and warm hearted as to strike the imagination of the people of all three countries.

He met the French Commission and then the British Commission. He welcomed them in our behalf with gracious and impressive hospitality. He rode with them through the streets thronged with cheering crowds, and shared with them the respect and homage accorded to the significant and representative figures of that great and unique occasion. He attended all the receptions and banquets, and public and private entertainments, by day and by night, which attended their visits. Daily and sometimes twice and sometimes three times a day, he made public addresses, appropriate and dignified, and full of interest and deep feeling. His adequate representation filled his own people with pride, and aroused their patriotism and their noblest qualities, and he impressed our guests with confidence and satisfaction.

When the final service of the crowded week was finished, at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Sunday, the thirteenth of May, he bade Mr. Balfour good-bye with the words "Remember, we meet again to celebrate the victory," and with stout and cheerful heart he bore the burden of his years to his home to meet the physical reaction that he had been warned was inevitable; and in a few hours the great heart filled with the impulses of noble service and with love of country, and liberty, and justice, ceased to beat. He had given his life for his country.





*Wm W. Foster*

*March 2, 1836 - November 15, 1911*



**John Watson Foster**  
BY JAMES BROWN SCOTT

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The State of Indiana has a goodly list of soldiers, statesmen, and men of letters to its credit. In not a few instances the reputation which they have achieved has been national; in one, and the most recent, international. It is rare that distinction has been achieved in the three fields of activity, but whether soldier, statesman, or man of letters, or whether they be combined in one, the son of Indiana remains loyal to Indiana, whether he live within the state, at the capital of the nation, or perform the duties assigned to him in the larger world beyond our boundaries. He is never too great for the state; to the state he returns, and in the state he is laid to rest amid the admiration, respect, and regard of his fellow citizens.

John Watson Foster, known alike as soldier, statesman, and man of letters, was a native of Pike County, State of Indiana, and in Evansville, State of Indiana, he sleeps his last sleep. Born on March 2, 1836, he died on November 15, 1917, and he justified his length of days not merely by good works, which alone would have been a justification, but also by great deeds, which gave him standing at home and abroad and an enduring reputation.

A graduate of Indiana State University, a student of the Harvard Law School, and a lawyer by profession, he served three years and a half in the war between the states, took part in many important engagements in the west, and commanded at various times three different regiments, a brigade, and a division of cavalry. The skill and the courage exhibited at Fort Donelson, where, although a major, he commanded and led the charge of his regiment, attracted the attention of General Grant, won his friendship and regard, and laid the foundations of that diplomatic career which began in 1872, upon his appointment by President Grant as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the then distracted Republic of Mexico. The incidents of this appointment the veteran diplomatist himself very modestly relates in the two volumes published in 1909, under the caption of *Diplomatic Memoirs*, an admirable work which supplies the facts of his career and only leaves to other hands its appreciation.

General Foster had been Chairman of the Republican Committee of his state in the presidential campaign of 1872, in which, at first, the tide seemed to be against General Grant, but which, in the end, turned strongly toward him and resulted in his triumphant reelection. As Governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton had appointed Mr. Foster, as he then was, a major of volunteers, without solicitation and without his knowledge. Governor Morton was now United States Senator, and, realizing the obligation of the party to General Foster and desiring

to recognize it by an appointment, asked him to choose the position which he most preferred and to give himself no worry about his appointment to it. The General was somewhat taken aback at this mark of confidence in his abilities, which he never rated so highly as his friends. He asked time to consult with Mrs. Foster, whom he had left to go into the army, but who, for fifty-eight years, administered to his comfort, making a great career possible, notwithstanding his delicate constitution and precarious health. They came to the conclusion that "a brief residence in Europe would be both pleasant and useful," and they picked upon the ministry to Switzerland, which General Foster says in his *Memoirs* "was in the lowest grade of our diplomatic service." Switzerland was promised, but Mexico was free; and in this casual, indeed accidental way, he began that diplomatic career which has given him an abiding place in the history of his country.

During his seven years in Mexico that country passed through the storm and stress of revolution and settled down, with a brief interval, to a policy of order, if not of law, under President Diaz, relapsing, as General Foster feared and for the reasons he stated, into anarchy after the strong hand was stayed. Commenting upon his service in the army, he had said, "My military life greatly enlarged my knowledge of men and gave me fuller confidence in myself." And no better example can be found of his knowledge of men and the reason why his countrymen had confidence in him than his analysis of the Diaz régime, its nature and its consequences:

It would have been a wise and patriotic act for General Diaz to have retired from the presidency at the end of his second term, leaving the prohibitive clause of the Constitution in force. He would then have been in a position to guarantee a peaceful election of a successor and a continuance of the good order and prosperity which he had established. The people also might have had an opportunity to test their ability to conduct a government by means of a free and untrammelled exercise of the electoral franchise, a condition as yet unknown to Mexico. The benevolent autocracy under his administration has resulted in great prosperity for the country, but it has done little to educate the masses of the people in their duties under a republican government.

The biographer of Pericles, the greatest of the republican rulers of Athens, in describing the disorders which followed his death, makes these comments: "In his determination to be the foremost man in the city, he left no room for a second. . . . Under his shadow no fresh shoots sprang. He taught the people to follow him as leader, and left no one behind to lead them; he destroyed their independence—or at least the mutual play of opposite forces—and when he died came 'the deluge.' There was no one who could succeed him. A democracy without great men is a dangerous democracy."<sup>1</sup>

While still in Mexico, General Foster was, without consultation, and indeed without his knowledge, notified by telegram that he was to be transferred to

<sup>1</sup> *Diplomatic Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 106-107.

the Russian mission. On January 19, 1880, President Hayes nominated him for that post, and General Foster recalls with pleasure that his name was sent to the Senate with that of Mr. James Russell Lowell, transferred from Madrid to London. He arrived in Russia on May 28, later than was expected, owing to the fact that he stayed in Mexico to receive General Grant, then visiting the country. He remained in Russia during the balance of 1880 and in August, 1881, he obtained a leave of absence to visit the United States, which, however, proved to be not only his farewell to Russia but his renunciation of diplomacy as a permanent career. For, although he later filled posts temporarily and was sent on diplomatic missions, they were as incidents or as interruptions in the career of a publicist and international lawyer,—not to be sought, yet not to be avoided if offered.

Having stated with frankness in his *Memoirs* the reasons which led him to enter, so with equal candor he gives the reasons which caused him to leave, the diplomatic service. Thus, he says:

After reaching home I came to the conclusion that the interests of my family and due consideration for my own future demanded my retirement from office. I had been continuously in the diplomatic service for nearly nine years. They had proved very interesting and instructive and I had reason to be satisfied with my labors. But under our system of government I could not hope to make the diplomatic service a life career. I was giving to the government the best years of my life, and I thought it better to choose my own time for retirement than to have it determined by a change of administration.

I had a growing family and I preferred to give them an education in our own country rather than abroad. Financial considerations also influenced my determination. Before entering the service I had not accumulated a competency, and the salary received from the government required me to exercise economy in office. I did not consider it either prudent or honest to adopt a style of living beyond my income. I do not advocate large salaries for our diplomatic representatives, but permanent houses should be provided for them, and there should be such a moderate increase in their salaries as would justify men of talents without fortunes entering the service. Lavish display is not becoming in the representatives of a democratic government, but they should be enabled to live comfortably and in becoming style without drawing upon their private means or credit.<sup>1</sup>

In an earlier portion of his *Memoirs*, in connection with his entrance upon "the highest and most difficult mission on the American hemisphere," for such the Mexican mission then was, he makes the following observation upon diplomacy as a career, wise in itself and the fruit of his experience, which is an appropriate pendant to his observation upon leaving the service:

I am a strong advocate for the establishment of a regular career for the diplomatic service of the United States; I would have all secretaries of legations enter the service through a competitive examination; continue in office during good behavior; and, as they should prove worthy, have them

<sup>1</sup> *Diplomatic Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 213-214.

promoted to ministers. But I doubt whether the time will ever come when our government will think it wise to confine the appointment of ministers and ambassadors entirely to promotions from the posts of secretary. It has never been so in the governments of Europe where the regular diplomatic career has long been an established system. Many of their most useful and distinguished diplomats have been those who never entered the service through a competitive examination, but who were appointed from other branches of the public service or from private life.<sup>1</sup>

By resigning, on November 1, 1881, from the mission to Russia, to settle in Washington and to engage in the practice of law, particularly of international law, in which he prospered and acquired fame, he doubtless thought that he had severed his relations with Russia; but in this he was mistaken, and it is probably the only mistake with which he can be taxed in his diplomatic career. He was sent on special mission by President McKinley in 1897. And if he really thought that he was not again to hold a regular diplomatic post, his judgment was again at fault, for President Arthur, who had regretfully accepted his resignation as Minister to Russia, insisted that he proceed to Spain, which, however, was in the nature of a special mission, although it was not confined to a single purpose with a temporary residence. He yielded to the President's request, and from 1883 to 1885 he served as American Minister to Spain, which in 1891 he visited a second time, as in the case of Russia, on special mission, demonstrating that his services were acceptable both to those countries and to the United States.

In the interval, however, between these two missions, General Foster had come to his own. In 1892, upon the resignation of Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, General Foster was appointed by President Harrison, a citizen of his own state, to succeed that distinguished statesman; and it is interesting to note, in this connection, that it was not the first time that General Foster had been considered for the cabinet. President Hayes wanted the State of Indiana to be represented in his cabinet, and, unconscious of the threatened honor, General Foster was, as appears from Mr. Williams' *Life of President Hayes*, the President's preference. "Finally," to quote the President's biographer, "the choice narrowed down to John W. Foster, at that time Minister to Mexico, and Richard W. Thompson, famous since 1840 for his political oratory. . . . Of these two Mr. Hayes was inclined to prefer General Foster, the younger, abler, and more active man. But as it would take so long for him to reach Washington, and as it was desirable that all members of the cabinet should be installed at once, Colonel Thompson won the distinction."<sup>2</sup> But in 1892 General Foster was not in Mexico; he was in Washington, and he was appointed and entered at once upon the performance of his duties.

However, he did not long remain in this post, inasmuch as the Bering Sea controversy between Great Britain and the United States, a legacy of his predecessor, was very difficult, very perplexing, and required a tried and deft hand

<sup>1</sup> *Diplomatic Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Williams, *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. II, p. 23.

for its settlement. It was submitted to arbitration, and General Foster resigned the Secretaryship of State in 1893 in order to take charge of the case on behalf of the United States. Two years later he was drafted into service by the Chinese Government, then at war with Japan and anxious to extricate itself from the toils of the Island Empire, which, in a single campaign, had defeated that immense and venerable country. General Foster accepted the call and acted as adviser to the Chinese plenipotentiaries in the negotiations ending in the treaty of peace between the two countries—with such apparent satisfaction to his imperial client that, without solicitation or knowledge, China appointed him a member of its delegation to the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907. In the interval between these dates, General Foster's practice of law was at least twice interrupted by his own country: in 1898, by his appointment as a member of the Anglo-American high commission to settle the disputes between Canada and the United States, and in 1903, as agent for the United States in the Alaskan boundary dispute.

Accidental and casual as his entry upon diplomacy, in which he achieved, however, solid and enduring distinction, was his entry into the domain of letters, in which he likewise succeeded. Urged to deliver a series of lectures on diplomacy in Columbian (now George Washington) University, he yielded, and what was an incident in his career as a diplomat and international lawyer has become the foundation of what promises to be an enduring reputation, for his lectures have been published as *A Century of American Diplomacy*, just as Kent's lectures, delivered at Columbia, were published and have remained a standard work, under the title of *Commentaries on American Law*.

The *Century* is a remarkable book. Published in 1900, it is as fresh as the day it issued from the press. The learned author wisely limited himself to a field, not, indeed, closed to controversy, but the great lines of which were drawn and within which he could move unembarrassed and at his ease. It begins, of course, with the 4th day of July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by a sturdy race and representatives worthy of the future of their country. It ended with 1876, a period when the United States had been reunited after the Civil War, through which it had passed but a decade before, and when our own fathers looked with wistful eyes, not to the past but forward to the second century of the Republic and to the future which time has in store for us.

Chronologically, and in the form of a narrative, General Foster sketched with a masterly hand our diplomatic relations, confined, at first, to France, our first and for more than a century our only ally, until our relations broadened out and encircled the world. And he appropriately ended his survey with a statement of the origin and nature of the Monroe Doctrine, which should be treated as a whole, not drawn and quartered and apportioned to various sections of the book. Accurate it is, for General Foster's training and experience as a lawyer had made him accurate to a fault; but it is more than accurate, it is the work of

a professional hand, for its author wrote as a diplomat, versed in the practice of his art, sometimes, alas, a craft, and familiar with its nature and its history. It is even more than the work of a diplomat; it is a book of wisdom and of large vision. Small in size, it bulks large in importance.

The *Century of American Diplomacy* was the first fruits of his pen. Fortunately, it was not the last. The appetite grows, it is said, by what it feeds on, and few authors can resist the temptation of success. General Foster, amateur as he then was, yielded as the professional author, but, prudently,—for he was prudent in all things,—he confined himself to the field in which he moved alone and where his appearance attracted and commanded attention. *American Diplomacy in the Orient* followed *A Century of American Diplomacy* within three years, and rounded out a phase of the subject which could only be touched upon in passing, but which is not the least of American achievements—the introduction of Japan to European civilization and the entering of the newer spirit into China. This book, like the *Century*, was born of familiarity with the subject, for he had come into contact with Japan as a representative of China in the negotiations which ended the war of 1894–95 between the two countries. But it was not alone personal interest which dictated the choice of the subject and caused him to enlarge and complete the earlier work, for he shared the views of William H. Seward, then a Senator, and whose words he quotes with approval: “The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theater of events in the world’s great Hereafter.”<sup>1</sup>

Three years later, for General Foster apparently moved in cycles of threes, *The Practice of Diplomacy*, published in 1906, naturally followed the *Century* and *Diplomacy in the Orient*, showing how the results chronicled in these two works had been accomplished in practice. And finally, in 1909, the veteran closed his career as an author by a personal contribution, but not the least interesting or valuable of his writings. It is perhaps immodest in a man to set forth his own career, but General Foster did so modestly, for above all he was a modest man, and the *Diplomatic Memoirs*, in two volumes, would never have seen the light of day were it not for the fact that they gave an opportunity, in a very individual and intimate way, of informing his countrymen of the events which were taking place before their very eyes and in the lifetime of one man. There is no apology for their publication, there is no reason stated. The books speak for themselves, and they speak a language of grace, of dignity, and of personal charm.

By the wayside, as it were, he dropped a little book, entitled *Arbitration and the Hague Court*, prepared in 1904 at the request of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, in which he was deeply interested and of which he was president; and this tractate, like its larger and more pretentious companions, is the work of a specialist, for General Foster had represented the United States in the

<sup>1</sup> *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 135.

Bering Sea arbitration of 1893 and in the Alaskan boundary dispute of ten years later.

But, great as were General Foster's attainments, he was preeminently a man of character. His life was busy and full of conflict, on the field of battle, at the bar, and in the less open but none the less real contests of diplomacy. He fought as a man of principle, and the principle he found laid down in the Old Testament as well as the New, for the Presbyterian does not reject the wisdom of the race while accepting the milder doctrine of the newer dispensation. A man of ambitions, otherwise he would not have played his part in the world's affairs, he was a man of ideals; but his ambitions were consistent with, and his ideals were those of, the Gospel. In the world, to that extent he was of the world, but the world was not too much with him. He heard and he heeded the counsel of his Master, and he found the words to be true of his own knowledge: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." Pride did not enter into his being, and one can imagine him as Franklin, his first and most illustrious predecessor, looking back to the little town in the west from which he came, and recalling, as Franklin recalled as he stood in the Court of Versailles, the admonition of early days: "Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings." And they not only stood before kings, they were kings.





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